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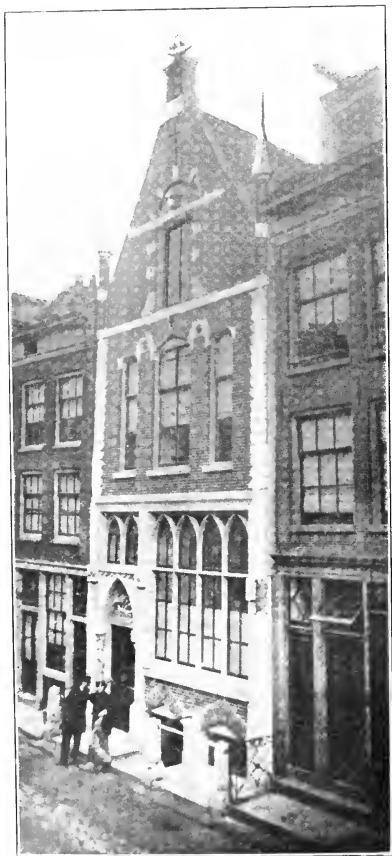
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BEWAARSCHOOL, AMSTERDAMS WELVAREN
THE JOHN WARDER SCHOOL
AMSTERDAM, HOLLAND
BUILT 1864

Bulletin of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia

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“HOLLAND'S WELFARE.”

BY MARY WILLITS BROWN.

Some years ago I ran across the following paragraph in a little religious paper for the use of children and young people :

“ Americans who are travelling through the picturesque little country of Holland, should not fail to visit the Bereenstraat in Amsterdam, for they will find in that street a school which has a curious history. England, Holland and America, all had a hand in the making, so that it may be termed an international affair. A school on Dutch soil whose pupils speak no language but their own, yet conducted by English Quakers from funds derived from an American citizen—surely this is a unique combination ! ”

“ There are many instances in which charity commissioners have had to step in and alter the distribution of funds which had accumulated in consequence of the trust becoming extinct. There is, however, one trust connected with Devonshire House Meeting in London which must be unique, as an illustration of the austerity with which Friends one hundred and more years ago maintained their testimony against all war.” (Quoted from a private paper.)

Several years since, just before I was sailing for Holland to attend a Dutch wedding, in Amsterdam, our friend, Joel Cadbury, of Philadelphia, requested me to visit this school, founded with funds that came originally from his ancestor, John Warder. He desired me to bring him some account of this school as it now stands.

In 1781, John Warder, a member of Devonshire House Monthly Meeting, became unwittingly involved in the reprisals carried on between England and America, by means of privateers. He was engaged in business as a merchant, and, in connection with a certain Captain Smith, was owner, in equal proportions, of a vessel called the “ Nancy,” which set sail from England for New York.

This Captain Smith, without any knowledge or approval on *his* part (as John Warder assured his friends), took out letters of marque, commissioning the "Nancy" to act as privateer toward any vessel of the other contending powers. Holland was included in this, as an ally of America.

It so happened that the "Nancy," carrying 12 guns, and the "Eleanora," carrying 18 guns, encountered a Dutch East India-man on its homeward voyage to Amsterdam. They attacked and captured her, and, from the nature of her cargo, she proved a rich prize.

On hearing of Captain Smith's action, John Warder, in order to guard himself against any claims that might arise, insured for £2000 with the underwriters at Lloyd's on the supposition that such an amount would cover his share in the captured vessel.

This boat, "The Hollandische Welvaren or Wolvaert," was taken into Limerick to refit, but on her way around to London, encountering a storm, was lost.

John Warder then claimed and received from Lloyd's the amount of insurance, less the premium and expenses, making the exact amount, £1833, 3s., 9d.

With their known testimony against war, the Friends of Devonshire House Monthly Meeting visited John Warder in the matter. He, being in sympathy with Friends on the subject of war, and, as a proof that he wished to act in accordance with Friends' views, placed £2000 of stock in the joint names of himself and two Overseers in *trust*, 10th month, 1782, from which all just claims should be paid as they arose. In this trust deed he stipulated eighteen months, and, if within that time no claims came forward, the investment should become his own. But the Monthly Meeting thought that "no stipulation as to *time* could bar the Christian obligation for restitution" (quotation from the minutes.)

Two years and a quarter having elapsed and no claimants appearing, John Warder requested the Overseers to transfer the stock into his own name, which was accordingly done. Soon after this John Warder sailed for America, landing in Philadel-

phia, and was gone four years, though without the certificate of membership for which he had applied.

In 1790, he was visited again by Friends in London, but he sailed for America a second time without a settlement, and in 1792 the London Monthly Meeting made a statement and requested Philadelphia Monthly Meeting to visit John Warder on their behalf.

In 3d month, 1793, a reply was received. The report states that John Warder (while considering that everything needful had been done by him) is willing to set apart a sum of money for such claims as may arise. And a letter from the committee in Philadelphia enters more fully into the case "expressing a hope that John Warder may be considered to have complied with the wishes of the Meeting *nearly enough* and that the Meeting may feel disposed to appoint a few Friends to unite with one who may be appointed by John Warder, in making a strict inquiry after the owners of the prize, so that thereby he may be enabled to get clear of his entanglement to his own peace and the honor of righteousness, having observed a commendable disposition in him and his family in their attendance at Meetings and in other respects." This compromise seemed only just and there was evidence that the arrangement would be carried out, but unfortunately John Warder's affairs becoming embarrassed, he was unable to put this into execution until 1799, when he transferred the whole amount of £1833, 3s., 9d. to three Friends of Devonshire House Monthly Meeting in perpetual trust, stating "that, if, after diligent search, such owners cannot be found the Monthly Meeting shall dispose of such amount, in such a way as they shall think most consistent with their principles of justice and equity." The case of John Warder was now dismissed and a certificate of Christian Fellowship forwarded to Philadelphia Monthly Meeting Northern District in 1800, as he had taken up his residence in that city.

The Devonshire House Monthly Meeting had no easy task in seeking those who might have suffered loss, and for 12 years very little was done, war interrupting communication with the continent, but in 1812 a committee of six Friends was appointed for six years "to take such measures as may seem suitable."

At length, as a result of extensive advertising in Dutch newspapers and by means of an old ledger which they found, certain claimants appeared.

The committee reported from year to year and the Monthly Meeting continued to order payments until 1818, when no further claimants appearing, the committee was discharged.

At this time, by good investments and from accumulating dividends, the original sum had increased to more than seven thousand pounds so that after paying out £3345 to claimants, there was left a balance in cash and stock of more than the original amount. It was therefore clear, that, whilst great delay had occurred in the disposal of the fund, there had been no waste in the principal.

The question arising before Friends to decide was: "What shall be done with the money?" The Monthly Meeting allowed a year to elapse and then recorded its judgment in the following minute:

"This meeting has solidly and fully deliberated on the subject of the Trust property remaining in the hands of Trustees connected with the case of John Warder and having read and considered the Trust deed, is of the judgment that the application of the remaining accumulated sum is completely vested in the disposal of the Meeting according to its judgment of the principles of justice and equity." A committee was then appointed to take up the matter of the appropriation of this balance, but for some years nothing occurred in their reports to the Monthly Meeting excepting that more stock was purchased with dividends. At length, in 1824, a definite proposal came before the Meeting, and the problem was solved by a visiting Dutch Friend.

John Stephen Mollett had become greatly interested in an infant school which had recently been started in Spitalfields, one of the most poverty-stricken parts of London.

As there were no free schools in Holland, he suggested that such a school might be established in Amsterdam with great success.

The money had come from the ship "Holland's Welfare"

and they were agreed that for Holland it should be expended, so that the proposal met with favor in the Monthly Meeting, but from one cause or another a delay of over four years occurred before this was put into execution, and in the meantime several special cases of distress in Amsterdam were relieved through J. S. Mollett and an annual distribution of bread was made, at which time the origin of the fund was explained to the people. Stephen Grellet being present on one of these occasions remarked that "no more powerful peace sermon could have been preached than that embodied in these circumstances."¹

Finally in 1829 a house was taken on the Bereenstraat and a school opened for indigent infant children, modelled on the plan of the London school, J. Stephen Mollett superintending the arrangements. The success was marked, the benefit and example being freely acknowledged by the citizens, for in their list of public schools later, "Holland's Welfare" stood first, while in a letter from J. S. Mollett, just prior to his death, he writes: "This school remains to be a blessing to the city, and though other public schools have now been established, 'Holland's Welfare' obtains a marked preference." After some years the house became so old that it was found necessary to rebuild and English Friends, not wishing so excellent an institution to be closed, as it was a proof of their views against war, subscribed the money and in 1864 the present substantial building was erected at their own expense.

The lower part is of yellow plaster with a full rigged ship over the door and the initials J. W. in three places across the

¹ Stephen Grellet's account is as follows: "We came to Amsterdam on the 18th [of Seventh month, 1832], and visited the Infant School, supported out of the interest of the residue of the money proceeding from the share of John Warder in the prizes made during the war by a vessel in which he was concerned. They have now upwards of sixty children in that school. The building purchased for the purpose is a convenient one, and the matron, under whose especial care it is placed, appears to act the part of a mother and a Christian towards these young children. Our testimony against war is exalted through this act of justice and benevolence. Many persons come to visit the establishment." *Memoirs of Stephen Grellet*, B. Seebohm. London, 1860, Vol. II, 250, 251.—[EDITOR.]

front. Under the window is painted "Bewaarschool Amsterdams Welvaren."

A large wooden tablet, inserted in the wall of the main entrance, recounts the circumstances leading to the founding of the school in both English and Dutch.

Children of poor parents are admitted, between the ages of 3 and 6 years, though some of these seemed to be somewhat older. As order and cleanliness are cardinal principles "the children must be taken to and from the school by a member of the family, and they must be neat, tidy and plainly dressed. Sweets are not allowed."

At the two daily sessions the elementary branches are taught, short poems, suited to their age and capacity, are committed to memory and lessons in singing given. The school opens and closes with singing and prayer and a daily reading of the Bible.

A committee of four ladies superintends the management with a school mistress and three assistants. In the summer a vacation of three weeks is given and one at Whitsuntide.

To quote from a granddaughter of John Warder: "A lively scene is presented in the morning with the arrival of the rosy-cheeked children, all eyes catching sight of a clock dial pointing to the school hour with the inscription 'Let op den Tyd,' meaning 'Be Punctual.' Gathering in two rooms the young voices are heard in the opening hymn, and later their arms and hands can be seen swinging and whirling in circles to imitate the windmill, so familiar a sight in Holland.

"On the wall in the upper floor were pictures of William Allen, Samuel Gurney, Elizabeth Fry and J. S. Mollett. In the little library (shown me with much pride by the principal, Miss Otten), were 'Sewel's History of the Quakers,' in Dutch, dated 1717, 'History of Friends in America,' 'Life of Joseph John Gurney' and 'Friends' Memoirs in English' (several volumes), but as most of the leaves were uncut, I judged these books had not been read.

"As I could speak no Dutch and they could speak but little English our conversation was limited, but the children crowded around us when they found we were from America, making up

for lack of speech that was understandable, by a vigorous shake of the hands. They could certainly shake hands in English even if they could not speak it, and my husband's ear trumpet was intensely interesting.

"They recited and sang for us and their bright, friendly faces were a pleasure to see."

J. S. Mollett died in 1851, but for ten years previous to that his son-in-law, Daniel Boisswain, Jr., had become associated in the work and continued his interest for many years after to the satisfaction of Devonshire House Monthly Meeting.

The school's influence has been exerted not only over the thousands of children who have been in attendance, but it has been a model for other infant schools throughout Holland.

"Holland's Welfare!" It is a fitting name for a school where the children of the poor find instruction, warmth and shelter; where they are taught to love God and their country.

The John Warder School is still doing its good work and we trust will be a blessing to generations yet to come.

Germantown, Philadelphia.

NOTE ON JOHN WARDER.

Through the kindness and courtesy of a descendant of John Warder, the editor is able to give the following information concerning John Warder:

John Warder was the son of Jeremiah and Mary Head Warder, and was born in Philadelphia the 5th of Fifth month, 1751, at the southeast corner of Market Street and Letitia Place (now Letitia Street). He was the eleventh in a family of twelve children. He went to England in 1776. Family tradition has it that he was not in sympathy with the American Revolution, and that no doubt was the cause of his removal. He established himself in business in London, and in 1779 married Ann Head, of Ipswich. No doubt his certificate of removal went to London at the time of his removal there.

John Warder made several trips to this country in connection with his business, but in 1795 he settled permanently in Philadelphia, and in connection with his sons, established an importing house at the southwest corner of Delaware Avenue and Race Street.

He died Fifth month 7th, 1828, at the age of seventy-seven, and was buried in the Friends' Western Burial Ground at Sixteenth and Race Streets. It is recorded that on his death-bed he enjoined upon his sons not to withdraw the prize-money from the English trustees for their own use.

John and Ann Warder had ten children, and their descendants are numerous, many of whom are well known to a number of the readers of the BULLETIN. Among John Warder's grandchildren are our Philadelphia Friends, John W. and Joel Cadbury, and in the next generation Richard T. Cadbury, Dr. William W. Cadbury, and Henry J. Cadbury of Haverford College.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER OF JOHN DICKINSON.¹

In answer to the letter alluded to, I soon received one from him [John Dickinson], a part whereof I here insert for thine and thy companions perusal, as it shows some of his sentiments.

"Happiness is not the growth of any particular spot of the Earth, like the Sun it would enlighten & revive every climate, if the passions & affections of mankind, inordinately excited, those mental fogs, did not so frequently & extensively intercept the pure rays of uncreated Light, perpetually flowing from their Eternal & inexhaustible Fountain. When, when shall we frail Mortals grow wiser & better! How slow, how reluctant are our steps, when Truth & humanity in clear & gentle accents call us out from

¹ The above note is part of a postscript to a letter written by James Bringhurst from Tiverton, Rhode Island, to Elizabeth Coggeshall, then visiting in England. The letter itself was printed in the BULLETIN, Vol. 5, p. 60. The date is, Tiverton, Rhode Island 8th of 10th mo 1799. For this extract the BULLETIN is indebted to M. Ethel Crawshaw, of London.

the ways of supposed interest! Fatal error! As if any thing could be for our interest, that is displeasing in the sight of the infinitely Holy Being, who bestow'd upon us our Existence & all the faculties combined with it.

"What a remarkable instance of Intellectual darkness is mentioned in thy letter, a Person of large understanding & many good qualities holding numbers of his fellow man, at this time in severe Bondage. I fear that thy opinion is too favorable to me, in imagining that any efforts of mine could be of use on that occasion. I know by experience the horrid infatuation: almost miraculously I escaped out of the thick clay & the lurid atmosphere, & was in that instance favor'd to turn my back on the Tents of Abomination. May men more & more perceive the blessings of mercifulness, etc."

JOHN DICKINSON.

A REMONSTRANCE FROM BURLINGTON QUARTERLY MEETING, 1732, WITH REMARKS THEREON.¹

ffrom our Quarterly Meeting held at Burlington the 28th of ye 6 month 1732

To our Yearly Meeting to be held at Burlington in the 7th month [9th month New Style] next—

The ffriends appointed by our sd Quartl. Meeting as Representatives to attend ye servis of ye Yearly Meeting are as vnder: Dan^l Smith, Ebinezer Large, Johnathⁿ Wright, John Redman, Caleb Raper, Nathan^l Cripps, Edward Barton, Isaac Hornor, W^m Morris, W^m Murfi, Abr^m. ffarington, Richard ffrench, John Sykes, Gervas Pharo, Mordica Andrews, Jun^r—

The Reports ffrom our Severall Month: Meetings Concerning the State amounts to this, that in the generall ffriends are in love & vnity and first day and Week Day Meetings pretty well kept vp and attended and a Care and a Concern is on the Minds

¹ From original in Library of Haverford College.

of honest harted ffriends to keep vp and Maintaine the discipline of ye Church and to putt ye same in practice as they see occation for it.

According to Last Years agreement our Quoto of Collection is Lodged in ye hands of Dan^l Smith, & Caleb Raper for the Servis of ye Yearly Meeting as vsuall.

But had not had any Epistle from London this year This Meeting has it vnder their Care & Notice the Removing marks of distinction on gravestones oute of their Burying grounds but meets with sum difficulty in that affaire.

This Meeting not being ffully sattisfyed with Last years answer to our Request of advise about Marriages in nearness of kindred in affinity, desires it may Com vnder Sollid Consideration againe and to haue a more direct and particuler answer in that affare, and hopes the Meeting will Exkuse vs herein by Reason we haue of Late ben Exercised with sundry marriages of this kindes as one man marrying two sisters & by persons professing truth.

This Meeting being dissattisfyed Concerning the former Minut of the Yearly Meeting Relating to young Ministers being debarred from ye Meeting of Ministers & Elders, withoute the Month. Meetings approbation & Recommendation, therefore desires the said Minuit may be Rased out, and that wee fall into the same practice in that affaire as our ffriends in Vrope.

Exam^d: & Signed on Behalfe of sd Meeting

pr RICHARD SMITH

Clerk

REMARKS ON A REMONSTRANCE FROM BURLINGTON QUARTERLY MEETING, 1732.

The document printed above is unusually interesting as it mentions some of the matters which gave rise to considerable discussion among Friends during a large part of the eighteenth century.

It should be remembered that at the time the report was written there was no printed Discipline, or, indeed, any complete

Discipline as now understood. Manuscript "Advices" from the Yearly Meetings took the place of the more modern codes, and as a result modifications were more frequent.¹

The removing of grave-stones, which caused much heart-burning, was part of the effort, which lasted many years, to suppress display and outward show as belonging to what was afterward termed "creaturely activity." There was very much of good in the movement, though there can now be no doubt that it was pushed to extremes. It tended to lay too much stress on the external, a fact which injured true spirituality, and its severity alienated and drove out many who would have been most valuable members of the Society.

Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in 1706 adopted a Minute which reads: "This Meeting do give it as their sense and judgment that it is altogether wrong, and of evil tendency for to have any grave-stones or any other sort of monument over or about the graves in any of Friends' Burying Grounds, and further that those monuments that are already in the Burying Grounds, either of wood or stone, shall be taken away, and no new put up, but to be as sparing as Friends well can for those who were not Friends and put up before the Burying Ground was solely confirmed to Friends." This Minute was repeated in 1707 with the addition, "and if any particular Friend or Friends oppose it, he or she should be dealt with as disorderly persons."

Another Minute was passed in 1729. This long Minute "advises and cautions" against the "vanity and superstition of erecting monuments and entombing the dead, with singular notes or marks of distinction," and says that "some professing with us have set up tomb or gravestones in some Burying Grounds." The advice of 1706 is repeated, and Monthly Meetings are directed to deal with such as refuse to remove the stones. The same advice was repeated every year until 1735, inclusive, and how much longer the writer does not know. It is evident that there was a strong minority against this judgment, for the Minute

¹ Disciplines in the modern sense began to be formed about 1759, but they were not printed. Disciplines were printed in the following order: London, 1783; New England, 1785; Philadelphia, 1797.

of 1732 states, " though this Meeting is not willing to proceed so far at present as to direct the denying [that is, to disown] of those who so oppose (in hopes that further dealing and patient waiting may answer the end, without that severity) yet it is the sense of this Meeting that such persons had need be cautioned, and strictly examine themselves what spirit it is in them that thus stands in opposition to the minds of the generality of Friends both in Great Britain and these Provinces."

After many years the prohibition became effective, and the Burying Grounds of Friends were places where only the " heaving turf " indicated the character of the enclosure. This movement and its success had two effects which perhaps were not fully realized during the period of compulsion. First, those who felt the restriction most no longer made use of the Society's grounds. Secondly, and later, in certain places, individual Friends united and formed associations to own burying grounds which would be free of Meeting restrictions. In such grounds, while simplicity and inexpensiveness were required, small or low stones were allowed to mark the resting-places of the dead. Had the restrictions adopted by these private owners been adopted by the Meetings in the first instance, it would have been far better for the Society.

The reference to " Marriages in nearness of kindred in affinity " needs some explanation. Friends from the very first raised the covenant of marriage to a very high plane. But this side of the matter need not be dwelt upon now. Here the question relates to the marriage of relatives, and in this report to the marriage with a deceased wife's sister, and with connections as the result of marriage. London Yearly Meeting in 1675 prohibited the marriage of first cousins, and while the same rule held among American Friends, the records show that it was frequently violated. English Friends in 1709 prohibited the marriage of second cousins, but the reiteration of this rule in 1747, 1749, 1801, and 1833 indicates that it must have been not unfrequently violated. In 1883, in spite of some strong opposition, the restriction against the marriage of first cousins (and consequently of second cousins) was removed, though such marriages were

strongly discouraged. In 1906 London Yearly Meeting adopted a Minute allowing any marriage which the law sanctioned, and that is the rule which governs at present. In America the marriage of first cousins has always been discouraged by Friends, and for many years forbidden by some, if not all, the Yearly Meetings. In most Yearly Meetings, by such a marriage membership in the Society was thereby relinquished, though it was customary to issue a "Testimony of Disownment" so as to make a record of the fact on the Society's books. As most Meetings would receive such delinquents back again if proper acknowledgments were made, such marriages did take place. Indeed, so often were such acknowledgments made and received, that special "advices" were issued advising Friends to be careful not to receive acknowledgments too readily.

The Discipline of the Five Years Meeting states that "parties who are to marry must carefully observe the laws of their State." This is practically the same as the English rule.

Philadelphia Yearly Meeting followed the practice of London and the American Yearly Meetings, and the last revision (1910) simply retains the prohibition of the marriage of first cousins.

The marriage with a deceased wife's sister was generally forbidden among American Friends, and extended to a deceased wife's half sister. This restriction gradually fell into disuse, and now such marriages are generally allowed.²

² By State law the marriage of first cousins is now (1916) prohibited in Pennsylvania (since 1902), and also in Arizona, Arkansas, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, South Dakota, Washington, Wyoming, and in Alaska. The marriage with a deceased wife's sister has probably always been allowed in America, except, as mentioned above, among Friends. This kind of marriage (and also with a deceased husband's brother) was long forbidden (except for a short period) in England through the influence of the Established Church and the House of Lords. It was legalized in 1907, but by one of those curious inconsistencies, which are not infrequent in English polity, the restriction was not removed as to a deceased husband's brother. So that now, while a *man* may marry his deceased wife's sister, a *woman* may *not* marry her deceased husband's brother!

The clause regarding "young Ministers" is not very clear. It appears from the records that it was not an unusual practice for those who "appeared in the Ministry" to be invited to attend the Meeting of Ministers and Elders before they had been officially "recommended" or recorded as Ministers. It was this practice which led to the "advice" from Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (1730) which was not acceptable to the Friends of Burlington and Bucks Quarterly Meeting as mentioned in the report before us. Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in 1732 referred this very report to a committee of fourteen Friends who were "desired to bring their sense thereof to the next Yearly Meeting." The committee reported in 1733, "that it might become generally satisfactory and equally useful to have it expressed, without the permission of the Monthly Meeting to which said young Ministers belong first had, and signified to the Meetings of Ministers and Elders by one of the Elders, or other weighty Friend belonging to said Monthly Meeting, which report was approved by this Meeting." This decision was again before the Meeting in 1734, and again approved.

In Philadelphia the Meeting is still restricted to actual Ministers and Elders, but in London, Dublin, and in the Meetings composing the Five Years Meeting, the addition of Overseers, making a "Meeting on Ministry and Oversight," has so enlarged the number of members, and also the scope of the Meeting, that admission of other interested Friends is not uncommon.

SOME ACCOUNT OF A JOURNEY TO THE CHEROKEES IN 1839-1840; BEING EXTRACTS FROM THE JOURNAL OF DAVID E. KNOWLES.

PART II.

3rd month 25, 1840, Fourth day.—Attended Richland Preparative Meeting [Ohio]. The business of the Meeting was done by men and women, each in their side of the house, with no partition between, neither had they one comfortable seat, being benches with no backs, yet a Meeting of rich Friends—at least

some of them. Then returned to James Smith's [at Miami], having travelled 150 miles and attended eight Meetings.

[At Miami a Friend "had a prospect of going to the Indians" with our Friend, but gave it up. At Miami Quarterly Meeting the matter of this journey was brought up and was given "solid consideration," with the result of the appointment of a large committee "to render such assistance as they should think necessary on behalf of the Meeting." By 5th month 16th the Friend "who had given up the prospect" of accompanying the Knowleses felt best satisfied to change his mind again and received a certificate from Miami Monthly Meeting. His name was Simon F. Harvey.

At length on the 30th of 5th month the party of three started from Cincinnati by steamboat for Fort Smith, Arkansas. After being delayed several hours to repair the paddles of one of the wheels broken by striking a floating log, the travellers reached Louisville, Kentucky, 138 miles, on the first of 6th month. Here flour, bacon, and whiskey, and slaves bound for New Orleans, were taken on board, and after a halt of two days the boat started again. The rest of the trip was marked by storms, running upon snags, and other incidents not unusual on such river trips. On 6th month 10th they reached Little Rock, Arkansas. The next day the boat started again but about thirty miles above Little Rock the boat struck on a sand bank. After some difficulty the Captain succeeded in backing off his boat, and concluded to remain all night. The next day, finding the water was falling and hearing that the river was scarcely passable for his boat above, he determined, much to the sorrow of our Friends, to return to Little Rock. The journalist, however, writes, "Yet our disappointment was a little eased by recollecting that near one hundred barrels of whiskey was stayed from the Indians, at least for a while." He goes on]

6th month 11th.—We reached town [Little Rock] at about nine this morning and soon found a boat was to start up the river at about three o'clock. Our Captain paid our passage to Vanburen, ten miles below Fort Smith; the passage was sixty-five dollars. This seemed hard for only two hundred miles. On re-

considering this step we thought best to withdraw, which we informed the clerk of the boat of. He then went and saw the other Captain; he gave up the money, and we stayed at our old home [on the boat] this night, being best satisfied with the thought of going by land, trying as it was, not being satisfied to turn back.

[Before leaving the boat which had been their home for two weeks, our Friends tried to gain permission for "a meeting in the cabin with as many of the crew as could attend and such of the passengers as had a mind to." The matter was postponed by the Captain till morning, and then the excuse was given that there was not time. The travellers now made use of their horses and carriage which had accompanied them on the boat from Cincinnati. This was their only means of conveyance, except when crossing ferries, until their return home to Vermont.]

6th month, 13th, Seventh day.—We crossed the ferry from Little Rock on to the north side of the river, and feeling our trust to be in Him who careth for the sparrows we proceeded into the woods. . . . We passed through valleys and over rocky mountains eighteen miles and saw few inhabitants, the last twelve miles being without a house. . . .

14th, First day.—We travelled twenty-four miles and stopped at Samuel Plummer's for the night. He said he knew us to be Friends as soon as he saw the woman. He came from Washington City and had attended Friends' Meetings many a time. He and wife were very kind and we spent the night very agreeably, they seemed almost like relations in this distant land. . . .

19th, Sixth day.—Reached the town of Vanburen before noon, took dinner. At this town we called on ———— Pascal. His wife is the daughter of the celebrated Cherokee Indian Chief John Ridge. We informed him of our wish to visit the station and our object therein and wished him to give us such information as would be useful to us as far as he could, which he did very freely and wished a blessing on our labors. We felt his kindnesses. He is a great man with the Indians, one party of them, and a lawyer of note. We left him feeling we had many causes for thankfulness, the way having been made so much easier than we had expected by land so far (165 miles). We left Vanburen

about 3 o'clock P. M. and passed over some points of the Ozark Mountains, about six miles and staid at Farrington.

20th, Seventh day.—This morning entered the Cherokee Nation. Soon saw some of them at their own homes, but could not talk with them, so passed on to one Winter's 18 miles and fed, not finding corn before. Then ten miles to Dwight Mission (Presbyterian).

21st, First day.—We thought it right to attend Meeting with them. The minister not being at home one Hitchcock officiated. Instead of preaching read an old sermon. Their round of ceremony was rapid. We attended their Sabbath School, an interesting company. Their common school for several years past has been about sixty scholars boarded and taught gratis. . . .

23rd, Third day.—Feeling drawings to have a meeting in this neighborhood, our minds were much bruised [?]. Silent waiting on God had little place amongst them as appeared, though their preacher said some of the most satisfactory seasons he had in meetings was when he would have a little time for silent meditation. After considerable deliberation among ourselves I proposed to Septs. Washburs, their pastor the appointment of a meeting. It was readily acceded to and the time fixed at three o'clock. We went to meeting. It consisted of about thirty persons mostly of the school. We sat some time silent, my wife then was drawn forth in lively supplication; silence again prevailed some time; feeling the importance of inward and spiritual worship, and also the arisings of life—I stood up and was favored to proceed a little time, when, through fear that I should multiply words without sufficient knowledge, I sat down. My wife soon stood up a little time with a lively testimony. We then sat silent some time. I then thought it right to revive Solomon's words, "There is a time to speak and a time to keep silence. When the Lord opens none can or may shut, and when the Lord shutteth none can open. I have no doubt but this may appear singular to some of you, at least, to see people thus met together for to worship God and sit thus silent, but how doth this agree with the declaration of the Almighty by the Prophet, "Keep silence before me Oh Islands and let the people renew their strength, let

them draw near, then let them speak;" let us come near together to judgment, with more [words] on true and spiritual worship, and so forth.

6th month 24, Fourth day.—Went to Parkhill, 24 miles, having John Candy, who came from that place the day before as guide. . . . Sixth day went to the house of Young Wolf, a Cherokee, and Methodist preacher. His pleasant countenance and venerable appearance was cheering as he met us at the gate. Their evening service, all in Cherokee, was performed in a most solemn manner, and I have no doubt was in a good measure owned by the Great Master, after which Drusilla knelt with lively thanksgiving and supplication they could all understand. . . .

27th. Seventh day.—Just before breakfast we were called into the room, and all sat down silent. This was altogether unexpected for we supposed they were agoing to attend morning service. We soon found an exercise attending which soon arose into life to offer up thanks for the past and supplicate for preservation for the future. This I endeavored to attend to in simplicity. We then went to the table. After breakfast we got in our carriage, being about half-past five, and rode twenty-four miles to Spring Creek in seven hours. Our friend Wolf was with us, and rode some in our carriage, Simon [Harvey] rode his horse. He expected to meet a large number of Cherokees and hold a Temperance meeting, but now learned it would be on the morrow so we rode three miles to Joseph Vans, Second Chief. He was much rejoiced at the news of general peace in the Nation [the Cherokee Nation], which was ratified in Council the evening before.¹

¹ It should be remembered that in 1838 the Cherokees, whose home was in Georgia, were forced to make a treaty with the United States disposing of their lands in Georgia, and agreeing to move beyond the Mississippi River. Refusing to do this, they were forced to march at the point of the bayonet by United States soldiers. On this march, about 4,000, nearly one-fourth of the number, perished. The details are too many to enter into here, but the story is humiliating to truly patriotic Americans. The Cherokees claimed that under the old treaty they were recognized as an independent nation, which was true. On the other hand, a separate sovereignty within the United States was an impossible

We rode to the place of meeting, about three miles mostly through the woods without a road, a new loghouse without floor, with split logs for seats and a sort of pulpit. Their service was performed with great solemnity, and while John F. Boot, a Cherokee, was preaching my mind was contemplating on the atonement of our Saviour for mankind, and the door of salvation opened through Him, and felt a good degree of life attended. My meditation was a little interrupted by my friend Wolf, at whose side I sat, who turning his head to me said, "he is treating on the sacrifice of Jesus Christ and the means of salvation through Him." Thus was it proved to my satisfaction that I was favored to travel in spirit with him though not a word could be understood. After their meeting was over they held a Temperance meeting. Many of them were interested in it; a lecture was delivered and several names added. After this we were informed that there was an opportunity then for us to offer what we had for the people. After a little time of silence I stood up and informed them in short the object of our visit, that believing it to be our duty to God under the influence of that Spirit that breathes peace on earth and good will to man are we come; and spoke of the satisfaction in meeting thus with them, and more, as seemed to be right, Young Wolf interpreting. My wife was also engaged in supplication and exhortation, of which he gave the substance to the people. An interesting time which tended

anomaly. The Supreme Court had upheld the Cherokees in regard to their lands, but President Jackson refused to enforce the decree of the Court, saying, it is reported, "John Marshall has made his decision; now let him enforce it." In Georgia there were two parties among the Cherokees; one, headed by John Ross, averse to the removal; the other, headed by John Ridge, which believed it was wisest to make the best of a bad business, and accept the Treaty. These factions were continued after reaching the new home, when a third was added which was composed of those Cherokees who had gone out some time earlier. This faction was known as the "Old Settlers." The peace referred to the Journal was not permanent. Factions continued to trouble the Cherokees for twenty-five or thirty years. It was doubtless the knowledge of the sufferings of the Cherokees in Georgia and on their westward march, which consciously or unconsciously, led David E. Knowles to make his visit.—[EDITOR.]

to much satisfaction both to us and them, as some of them expressed their satisfaction and unity publicly at that time. Most of them took leave of us by shaking hands, and so we parted about 9 o'clock having been six hours at this meeting-house. We rode two miles to ———, and took some refreshment. He said he was glad we had been at his house though a little time. We then rode to Judge Martin's, eight miles. This is near the great salt spring and near the Neosho or Grand River. Young Wolf and J. F. Boot were our guides.

29th, Second day.—Rested, except going near a mile to see the salt spring. It is a curiosity in nature. We stopped at John Rogers, another great man amongst them.

Third day.—Returned to Young Wolf's, 34 miles. Fourth day to Park Hill Mission again. . . .

7th month 8th, Fourth day.—We left the Mission after noon and rode a little way to the house of William Williams. He was raised among Friends until sixteen years old, then left his master to whom he was bound and appears to have lived a very prodigal life. The sight of Friends and hearing from some of his near relations brought past scenes to remembrance (when he was young). We had an opportunity with him and family (consisting partly of colored people)² of which they seemed glad. We then rode to Jack Ross's. It is also the home of John Ross, Chief. They are brothers-in-law.

5th.—Rainy. We are kindly invited to rest contented, for what we receive from them comes from the heart. Such is the hearty welcome with which we are received in this strange land also called savage.

(To be continued.)

² These may have been slaves, as the Cherokees were slaveholders.

JAMES LOGAN TO WILLIAM PENN, 1708.

The following letter from James Logan to William Penn, written in 1708, is from the Howland Collection of Manuscripts belonging to Haverford College. It is not in the "Penn and Logan Correspondence,"¹ or Janney's *Life of Penn*. This copy is evidently Logan's rough draft, as is shown by the alterations in the text. The original drafts are here given in the form of notes.

The letter was written when William Penn's fortunes were at the lowest ebb, owing to the "villany," as Logan calls it, of Philip Ford and family. Logan never hesitated to use strong words, of which practice this letter is a good example. The Fords and David Lloyd are handled without gloves.

The letter is also interesting as indicating Logan's view regarding defensive war (so called). In this he differed from the majority of his contemporary Friends. Logan's position is elaborately stated in his letter to the Philadelphia Friends in 1771.² He never accepted fully the teaching of Friends on war. He held that defensive war was not only justifiable, but that government was founded on force; and that, this being so, force, under certain circumstances, was not only allowable but necessary.

Logan, even when he was writing this letter, was undergoing some of the experiences which he mentions. In 1706 the Pennsylvania Assembly, probably at the instance of David Lloyd, then Speaker, had impeached Logan on a number of charges, but he had not been brought to trial. In November, 1709, Logan, who had taken passage for England on account "of the Proprietor's affairs," petitioned the Assembly for an opportunity to have the matter tried so that it might be settled before he sailed. Instead of granting this request, the Assembly issued an order to

¹ Correspondence between William Penn and James Logan, etc. Historical Society of Pennsylvania. 2 vols. 1870, 1872.

² *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. VI, pp. 402-411.

the Sheriff for his arrest and imprisonment, the purpose being to detain him until the vessel had sailed. This scheme was defeated by the Governor, who issued a writ which allowed Logan to sail. After an absence of two years Logan returned fully acquitted of all charges by Penn, the civil authorities, and by public opinion.

Logan was aristocratic in his views, which somewhat resembled those of the later Federalists. David Lloyd was intensely democratic. The influence of each was beneficial. Logan died in 1751 at the advanced age of eighty-seven, probably the most respected man in Pennsylvania. His fine residence, *Stenton*, built in 1728, still attests his style of living and excellent taste.

Philad^a 19th 5^{mo} 1708

Hon^d Govern^r

At length I have rec'd thine by Ab. Scott & Rich^d Townsend who arrived here but 3 dayes agoe from Maryl^d. All the Virg^{ia} fleet are come in safe, only Young for this place falling in with the same Privateers who have done so much mischief on our Capes, is taken. All our outward bound vessels have been stopt here for these 3 weeks not daring to venture out, & now sail under Convoy of a small Man of War from N York who comes round on purpose. Tis this gives me another opportunity by Hammerton.

The Acct^s I have had of thy Draughts on me could not but give me some uneasiness but the List I have now reced by thine of ye 16th 8^{mo} has removed great part of it. The total I perceive is 1746^{lbs}: 19:—w^{ch} tho' a large sum, yet falling under 2000^{lbs} w^{ch} is still less than I feared I shall struggle hard but by some means or other I'll answer them so as that thou shalt never hear of them again to thy dissatisfaction. Many even of thy fr^{ds} here are of opinion that nothing of that kind ought to be paid, untill we have assurances that the Countrey will be secured from the ffords [Philip Ford and wife], because otherwise the Comm^{ers} are told that they will all be call'd into question for the Sales they have made under thee, but for my part I am too far engaged to look back. I am certainly ruin'd if the Countrey be lost, &

cannot be more so. To be call'd on for 2 thous^d or 200 thous^d of my own makes no difference at all, & therefore I shall not stop at anything myself if not hindred by others,³ as tis very probable I shall, if ther be not at least a great probability of thy keeping the Countrey at the time ye Bills are to be p^d, but there is this further in it, that in case it prove otherwise, the Bonds I have will be good for nothing, however I have a very great confidence that there is no danger but that some means or other will be found effectually to relieve thee. Yet I cannot think but there was a great Conveniency (not to say Necessity) in writing as I did to the fr^{ds} there in answer to their Lett^r, tho I have ever since been jealous I should be taxed for too great plainness. Pray be pleased to furnish me with all the Strength that is possible to obviate thy Enemies Endeavours to obstruct paym^t, otherwise I may fail whatever mine be.

The Ship Diligence if she be arrived safe, will supply thee & hope wth 400^{lbs} Sterl. and thy Son with half as much.

E. Shippen has been a long time fully restor'd among fr^{ds}, & therefore since he acts for thee as before may claim ye same regard as formerly.

Tis in vain to propose to fr^{ds} here to deal with D. Ll. [David Lloyd] his party is so strong that it would occasion the greatest confusion among them; I have frequently press'd it as a matter absolutely incumbent on them unless they would make themselves partners in his Villany, but tho' many would most gladly see it done, yet they dare not adventure on it twould splitt them, they say, to pieces. As for thy resigning all into the Queen's hands, if they fail to doe it, I think (as I have repeatedly wrote) that most of thy fr^{ds} here who have any thought about them are agreed that it is the most adviseable step thou canst take, especially if some tolerable terms can be made, and any thing can be gott for it. Ths last business of the Privateers upon our Coasts infesting us above others, because unarm'd, has brought friends to a pretty general Confession that a due administration of

³ The last six words have been substituted for the following which have been stricken out: "In my power to serve thee."

Government^t (especially in a time of war) under an English Constitution, is irreconcilable with our Principles.

I am sorry any Packet of mine should cost 17s 5d but I could not direct it to ————— Lewis (whose first name I know not) because I never that I can remember heard of him before, first I directed to J. Ellis, but he falling into disgrace, I was ordered to J. Parker at S^r Cha. Hodges office, who being out himself, I desired to know whether Parker stood. for the future I shall send to Lewis when I have Pacquets, but cannot handsomly begin with a single Lett^r, as this is, I doubt.

The Inclosed will shew that Rakestrain has at last mett with his deserts in part.

I shall send an Authentick Copy with ye Minutes of ye meeting sign'd, but cannot now. I have had some trouble wth him but I wish I had as fair a hearing with all our Enemies, for they are much alike.

Of the lotts by Hugh Desborrow there is one laid out to Tho: Callowhill, the rest were disposed of to Purchasers by thy own Ord^r when here.

I know not what P. ff. [Philip Ford] may doe by his Letters but neither his Service nor the contrary is of moment here. Yet I have always kept very fair with him.

The last expression of thy Lett^r desires me to be easy to all in general, & also Just to all not leaving thee out of that direction. I am sensible that no man can be more obnoxious to censure & misrepresentations than myself, and yet I know the value of a good Reputation, but my Engagem^{ts} are too binding on me to dispense with any essential part of my Duty for ye sake of popular Air. a good Conscience have long resolved should be my only Dependance without much regard to the Sentim^{ts} or discourse of ⁴ others w^{ch} not being in my power I must quitt the thoughts of them further than as they depend on the other, & yet I have an intire Confidence that one day they will unite (I mean

⁴ Following the words, "discourse of," these succeeding words have been stricken through: "Any sort of people whatsoever, not that I would slight these were they in my Power, but as I am circumstanced and resolved in myself, they depend on the other, and yet one day."

a good Confidence & Reputation) tho' not suddenly with me.⁵ Yet after all I find it a little irksome, when I stand so much exposed for thy sake, to fall under suspicion even with thee. But the same fortress will support me in this also, and all I shall desire is that my Justice may be tried. I hope now thou wilt not trust any man after so villanous an Abuse from fford, & for my own part I never thought it was for mine or any honest man's advantage to be trusted further than necessity obliged, for when all men see for themselves none can be uneasy. I know there are some particulars in w^{ch} I could have wrong'd thee, because an Error could not easily have been discovered by the sharpest eye, but I had the Character of honest before that of Secry [Secretary] & hope its lustre will not be found tarnished after ye other's gone. I have enlarged this because within these 2 years I have had divers hints to the same purpose for w^{ch} I'm persuaded I never gave occasion. I am ye same as ever & without disguise.

Thy faithful & obed^{nt} serv^t

J. L.

[JAMES LOGAN]

AN ACKNOWLEDGMENT BY JAMES LOGAN.

In connection with the preceding letter of James Logan, the following acknowledgment by him of error, taken from the Minutes of Burlington Quarterly Meeting, will be interesting. It will be noticed that this statement is very carefully drawn up and avoids an expression of his individual views. Indeed, he practically takes technical ground rather than that of personal conviction.

"At ye Quarterly Meeting of Friends held at the house of Wm Beedle ye 22d day of ye 12 mo 1702 . . .

This day a paper of Acknowledgment signed by James Logan was read in this Meeting & was thought convenient to be recorded here."

⁵ Following the words, "with me," these succeeding words are stricken through: "I know a Man here, who is preferr'd far above me, that speaks all in Oil to all mankind, yet will serve no mortal willingly but himself. This I know is perfectly prudent, but I have never yet studied the Art."

"To Friends of the monthly M'g met at Philadelphia this 25th day of ye 10th mo 1702.

Whereas upon a provocation given by Daniel Cooper of west Jersey, injuriously (as was judged) to our proprietary's right & Contrary to authority invading in the 5th mo last one of the reed Islands of delaware, over against this City, I undertook to goe over to ye said Island to divert him from proceeding in his design accompanied with the Sheriff of Philadelphia who hearing of an opposition designed, took with him some other persons with fire arms for ye greater awe of such as should attempt to oppose. And whereas ocasion hath been or may be taken from the said arms being caried in any company to reflect not only upon mee as Concerned for the Proprietary, but also upon the proffession of God's truth owned by and amongst us, I do therefore in a true sense of the inconveniences that have naturally ensued from the said action and its Contrariety to the said proffession heartily regret my Complying with or being in anywise Concerned in that method which ministers such ocasion & do in sincerity declare that could I have foreseen the ill Consequences of it I should by no means have engaged in it.

Hoping & earnestly desiring that it may please God, the author of all good counsell and direction, so to enlighten my understanding by his spirit that I may avoid not only all such occasions but all others that by being contrary to his divine will may minister offence for the future.

JAMES LOGAN.

VOLTAIRE AND THE QUAKER, CLAUDE GAY.

In *The Friend* (Philadelphia) for Twelfth month 16, 1915, an account of a visit of a Friend, Claude Gay, to Voltaire, then residing near Geneva, Switzerland, is reprinted from "Lake Geneva, and its Landmarks," by Francis Gribble (London, 1901, p. 229). Gribble speaks of Claude Gay as "the Philadelphian Quaker." As I had never heard of a Friend of Philadelphia by that name in the eighteenth century, though tolerably familiar with the names of the prominent Friends of that period, I doubted the truth of the statement. A very little research confirmed my

opinion. Claude Gay was not only not a Philadelphian, but never was in America. His history is an unusual one. He was born in Lyons, France, in or about 1706, and died in Barking, Essex, England, 1786, having been a minister among Friends about forty years.

Brought up a Roman Catholic, he early became dissatisfied with that faith, and left that church. In order to be among Protestants, he removed to the Island of Jersey. While there he met with a copy of Barclay's "Apology," by the reading of which he was convinced of Friends' principles, and then joined the Society. On account of this he suffered some persecution, and having been banished from the island and forbidden to return on pain of being flogged,¹ he went to London where he spent most of his life.

Claude Gay was somewhat of a writer. He translated into French Part first of Penn's "No Cross, No Crown," (1746), "Rise and Progress of the People Called Quakers" (1764); selections from "Piety Promoted" (in French and English) (1770); and Mary Brook's "Reasons for the Necessity for Silent Waiting," etc. (in French and English, 1782). He also published "A New and Easy Way of Teaching the French Language" (1773). His English publications were a few tracts and epistles and addresses. In *The Friend* (London) will be found some of his letters (Vol. VI, pp. 17-19, 39-42) and "An Account of a Journey to the Islands of Guernsey, Sark, Alderney, and Jersey, and to High and Low Normandy, and Picardy" [1775-1776] (Vol. V, pp. 141-144).²

He left an unpublished Journal, and other papers, which were placed among the archives at Gracechurch St. Meeting-House, and which were destroyed when that house was burned in 1821.

¹ This sentence was revoked by order of the King.

² Towards the expenses of this visit, he writes, "Besides what Friends thought proper to furnish me with, our friend [Dr.] John Fothergill gave me an unlimited letter of credit, which I had no occasion to use, having more than sufficient without it." *The Friend* (London), Vol. 5, p. 141.

The chief source of information concerning him is the short sketch in "Piety Promoted," Part IX, the substance of which will be found in *The Friend* (Philadelphia), Vol. I, pp. 11, 12, where the Voltaire incident is recounted from Simond's "Switzerland," which is evidently the source of Gribble's story.

The full title of Simond's work is, "Switzerland, or a Journal of a Tour and Residence in that Country in 1817, 1818, 1819, etc. By Louis Simond, London, 1822, 2 vols. 8vo." A reprint was issued the same year in Boston, Massachusetts. The French editions (Paris, 1822, 1824) differ somewhat from the English. They were both written by Simond, who, from his long residence in Great Britain was familiar with English. Simond, like Gay, was a native of Lyons. He was born 1767, and died in 1831, at Geneva, Switzerland, where he had acquired citizenship. He was driven from France by the great Revolution, and did not return until after the fall of Napoleon. He was a great traveler, and published, besides his Switzerland, "Travels in France and England" (1810-1811), and "Travels in Italy and Sicily." His works will be found in our older libraries.

From Gay's letters published in *The Friend*, as noted above, it would seem that his visit to Geneva was in 1764.³ Simond's anecdote, written more than fifty years later, was probably derived from some local source. How Simond came to call Gay "a Quaker from Philadelphia" we cannot tell. Neither the account in Gribble, nor the fuller one in the *Philadelphia Friend* (Vol. I, pp. 11, 12), gives the whole of Simond's story, and so it seems worthy of reproducing here. It might be said that the English and French versions are practically identical. It is as follows:

"A quaker from Philadelphia, called Claude Gay, travelling in Europe, stayed some time in Geneva; he was known as the author of some

³ It is rather strange that though Gay speaks at some length of his visit at Geneva, no mention is made of Voltaire, especially as he speaks of Rousseau's *Emile or Education*, of which at first he "read a little," and then put aside. But afterwards, he says, "There came upon me a strong feeling to read it all, and I borrowed it at Geneva." He also read *The Social Contract*, of which he remarks, "This resulted in my writing him [Rousseau] a letter." It would be interesting to know what impression Gay's letter made upon Rousseau. See *The Friend*, Vol. VI, p. 39.

theological works,⁴ and liked for his good sense, moderation, and simplicity. Voltaire heard of him, his curiosity was excited, and he desired to see him.⁵ The quaker felt great reluctance but suffered himself at last to be carried to Ferney,⁶ Voltaire having promised beforehand to his friends that he would say nothing that could give offence. At first he was delighted with the tall, straight, handsome quaker, his broad-brimmed hat, and plain drab suit of clothes; the mild and serene expression of his countenance, and the dinner promised to go off very well; yet he soon took notice of the great sobriety of his guest, and made jokes, to which he received grave and modest answers. The patriarchs, and the first inhabitants of the earth, were next alluded to; by and by, he began to sneer at the historical proofs of Revelation; but Claude was not to be driven away from his grounds, and, while examining these proofs and arguing upon them rationally, he overlooked the light attacks of his adversary when not to the point, appeared insensible to his sarcasms and his wit and remained always cool and always serious. Voltaire's vivacity at last turned to downright anger; his eyes flashed fire whenever they met the benign and placid countenance of the quaker, and the dispute went at last so far, that the latter, getting up, said, '*friend Voltaire! perhaps thou mayest come to understand these matters rightly; in the mean time, finding I can do thee no good, I leave thee, and so fare thee well.*' So saying he went away on foot, notwithstanding all entreaties, back to Geneva, leaving the whole company in consternation. Voltaire retired immediately to his own room, where, if the following lines of his own occurred to him, they did not probably contribute to put him in good humor with himself:

"A la religion discrètement fidèle
Soit doux, compatissant sage, indulgent commi elle,
Et sans noyer autrui, cherche à gayner le port;
Qui pardonne à raison et la colère a tort.

"Huber (the father of the celebrated author on Bees) was present at this scene, and made a drawing of it in which the two principal actors are most happily characterized."⁷ (Switzerland, etc., by Louis Simond, London, 1822, Vol. I, pp. 555-557; Paris, 2d edition, 1824, Tome I, pp. 634-635.)

⁴ As Claude Gay's work was almost wholly that of a translator, this statement indicates that Simond was not himself acquainted with Gay's work.

⁵ Simond says that for a time Voltaire received all who chose to call on him, but that he became so pestered with visitors that he refused to see any one unless previous application had been made, and not always then.

⁶ Ferney, now Fernex, four and a half miles northwest of Geneva, just within the French boundary.

⁷ Jean Huber (1722-1790) was a Swiss artist residing at Geneva, and Voltaire was one of his favorite subjects.

BOOKS, ETC., RECENTLY ISSUED, AND OF INTEREST
TO FRIENDS.

William Penn. Rupert S. Holland. Author of *Historic Boyhoods*, etc. New York, The Macmillan Co., 1915. 6x5 in., pp. vii, 166, 50 cents.

This volume forms one of a series known as "Stories of Great Americans." The style of the book varies and sometimes an effort to write down to youthful readers is evident. In fact, William Penn is not a subject that can easily be made attractive to immature minds.

The author is sympathetic with his theme, and his general judgment of Penn is just. He recognizes Penn's weak points and does not attempt to minimize them, while on the other hand, he brings out Penn's real greatness and dwells upon it. Several anecdotes are related that do not rest on the firmest foundation, but they are generally qualified by some such phrase as, "the story goes," or "it is reported."

Though undoubtedly desirous to represent the Friends truthfully and accurately, the author makes sundry slips which show that he is not familiar with Quaker principles and practices. The outsider who treats of Quaker views and customs needs to tread warily. The following are some of the slips: "And, now, having publicly declared himself a Quaker, he [Penn] asked permission to be one of their preachers And when he was twenty-four he was accepted as one of their regular preachers." (p. 29.) This statement is so contrary to the customs of the Friends as to be almost amusing. "He with some companions decided to hold a 'silent meeting' on the sidewalk before the front doors." (p. 38.) The Friends, it is true, met in silence, though they *never* decided *beforehand* to hold a silent meeting. His chapter on the "Early Quakers," kindly as it is, is full of misconceptions and lack of knowledge of the actual facts. It is not often that the early Friends have been credited with being "earnest students of those who are called the fathers of the Church,—the early writers on Christianity, such as Tertullian, Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Cyprian, and Origen." (p. 14.) With the exception of Penn, Barclay and, perhaps, half-a-dozen others, the early Friends were guiltless of any knowledge of Patristic literature. The "Primitive Christianity" which they preached was not that of the Fathers, but of the Gospels and Acts.

There are several instances of failure to recognize real conditions existing in Penn's time. The author says, Penn "was a militant character, and when he argued before a public meeting, or wrote a letter that was to be read by his opponents, he never hesitated to express himself as strongly as he knew how." (p. 46.) A natural inference from this statement is, that Penn was remarkable for his strong expressions, whereas he was really milder than many of his Quaker friends, and

much milder than many of his theological contemporaries of other sects, both in their arguing with their Quaker foes and with others from whom they differed. Strength of expression was the fashion of the day. "Then a man named Richard Baxter" (p. 53) is hardly the way to speak of one of England's greatest divines.

There are a few positively wrong inferences and misstatements which should be noticed. "It hardly seems credible that Penn could have actually conspired against the new king and queen, and yet plots were much in the air in those days, and, as we have already seen, the Quaker leader could be rather easily influenced by people of whom he was fond. In any event, he seems at that time to have been treated as an object of suspicion, and at this distant date it cannot be said positively whether he deserved this suspicion or whether he was the unhappy victim of unscrupulous informers." (pp. 114, 115.) It seems strange that our author who has evidently studied Penn's character with sympathetic attention could have written a statement like this, which casts such a doubt upon Penn's integrity. Penn's special weakness was his inability to judge character aright. He was easily moved by his affections, and when he was fond of a person he trusted him and was loath to believe any evil of him. This characteristic often laid him open to suspicion and misjudgment. He believed in King James and trusted him, and naturally Penn was suspected of actively aiding James. That he ever even thought of conspiring against William and Mary there is not a shred of trustworthy evidence to show. Penn, himself, distinctly and personally gave William his allegiance. On page 119, "Luttrell's Diary" is thus quoted under date of "December 5, 1693:" "William Penn, the Quaker, having for some time absconded, and having compromised the matters against him, appears now in public, and on Friday last held forth at the Bull and Mouth in St. Martin's." In the first place, Luttrell is by no means an unimpeachable authority; his diary is full of gossip and town-talk, and while of value as confirmatory evidence, it is to be used with great caution as a chief authority. This fact is well known by those who have had occasion to make use of the Diary in research work. In the second place, though Penn was in retirement, or as he, himself, says, "in hiding," "absconding" is a word which gives a totally wrong idea of the fact. All our definite information goes to show that though in retirement, or "in hiding," Penn never "absconded" in the usual sense of the word, and that he could easily have been found at any time the authorities desired; neither did he make any "compromise" whatever. "His preaching was very successful. Wherever he spoke great crowds gathered to hear the words of a man who had had such a remarkable history, who had been a close friend of King James, and who had been in hiding for some years." (p. 123.) This is rather a curious list of reasons for Penn's gathering

large audiences. It is probable that some *were* moved by curiosity to go to meetings where Penn was likely to speak, but to make notoriety the chief cause is to omit the fact that Penn had long been one of the most prominent and beloved men among the Friends, and also to omit that which drew men above everything else—Penn's spiritual message and power.

The most serious error which our author has made is in regard to Penn's connection with the case of the Fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford (pp. 104, 105). He seems, in the main, to have followed Macaulay's version of the incident, which John Paget, in "The New Examen" (pp. 297-330), reprinted in his "Paradoxes and Puzzles," has completely refuted, as also William Hepworth Dixon, in his "History of William Penn," and Janney in his "Life." There is no trustworthy evidence that Penn "Afterward changed and advised the College to yield," or that "people began to think that the former champion of religious liberty was no longer a Quaker at heart." The very letter from which Macaulay makes his garbled quotation and upon which he bases his charge, also states, "I thank God he [Penn] did not so much as offer at any proposal by way of accommodation, which was the thing I most dreaded." (Paget, *New Examen*, p. 325.) This sentence Macaulay does *not* quote.¹

It is hardly correct to speak of "William Bradford, a printer of Leicester" (p. 71). Bradford was born in Leicester (1663), but was apprenticed to Andrew Sowle, a printer of London, whose name appears on many Friends' books after 1683. William Bradford did come out with Penn in 1682, but returned to England before 1685. He married Elizabeth Sowle, the daughter of his former master, in 1685, and in the same year, returned to Pennsylvania and set up his printing press in Philadelphia. The author gives the impression that Bradford began his printing in 1682.

Despite these, and other minor errors and misconceptions, the book, as a whole, is a good one and does Penn substantial justice.

There are twelve good illustrations, six of them full page half-tones.

A Quaker Diary in the Orient. By William C. Allen. Press of Wrights-Ely Co., San José, California, 1915. 9½x6 ins. [Illustrations from photographs by the author.] Pp. 101. \$1.00.

This thin well-printed volume is the diary of a Friend who felt called upon to "visit the Far East."

The party consisted of three, the author, his wife, and his companion, William B. Harvey, an Elder, and the well known super-

¹The new unaltered edition of Macaulay's *History of England* has already been noticed in the *BULLETIN*, vol. vi, p. 20. Macaulay's *History of England* is a good example of "The evil that men do lives after them."

intendent of Westtown School, all being members of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. In addition to the strictly religious work of the visit, occasion was taken "to utilize it on behalf of the International Peace Movement." The part of the diary here given covers Japan, Korea, China, and the Philippines. Much, if not all, appeared in the columns of *The Friend* (Philadelphia). The book is simple, unpretentious and interesting as giving a personal view of the Far East, under rather unusual circumstances. Thirty excellent illustrations (3x4) from photographs taken by the author add greatly to the interest of the book.

An American Garland, Being a Collection of Ballads Relating to America, 1653-1759. Edited, with introduction and notes by C. H. Firth, M.A., Oxford, B. H. Blackwell, 1915. [New York, Longmans, Green & Co.] 8x5½ ins.

This is a collection of street and popular ballads. They have little or no literary merit, but are of value historically. The only ballad of special interest to readers of the BULLETIN is that entitled "The Quakers' Farewell to England, or their voyage to New Jersey, situate on the continent of Virginia and bordering upon New England. To the tune of *The Independents' Voyage to New England*. London. Printed for F. G[rove], 1675." This reprint is taken from a copy of the Broadside, in the British Museum. It is noted in Joseph Smith's "Anti-Quakeriana" (p. 18). The ballad consists of seventeen doggerel stanzas, the character of which may be judged by the following:

"Come, Friends, let's away,
Since our Yea and Nay
In England is now slighted.
To the Indians wee'll goe,
And our Lights to them show,
That they be no longer benighted.

.

"To New Jersey, with speed,
Come all Friends that need
Wealth, or large Possessions;
The Indians we'll make
To serve us and Quake
And be slaves to our Professions."

Comparatively few Friends of the present day are aware of the mass of Anti-Quakeriana which appeared in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, much of it scurrilous and some quite unprintable. This specimen is a moderate example.

The Peace of Europe. The Fruits of Solitude and Other Writings. By William Penn, London and Toronto, J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd. New York, E. P. Dutton & Co. [1915]. "Everyman's Library." Pp. XLIV, 292. 7x4½ ins. 1s; 35 cents in America.

The editor of "Everyman's Library" is to be congratulated on bringing out this selection from the writings of William Penn just at this time. The paper which gives the title to the volume, "The Peace of Europe," or in full, "An Essay towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe," is one which well may claim the attention of thoughtful men not only in Europe but in America as well. It is perhaps the greatest contribution to World Politics made by any Friend. If only, at the conclusion of the present great war, the statesmen and peoples of the world would follow out the principles laid down by William Penn in these few pages the future history of the world would be very different from the past.

The other papers chosen for republication are "Some Fruits of Solitude;" "Advice to his Children;" "A Tender Visitation;" "A Summons or A Call to Christendom;" "Brief Account of the Rise and Progress of the People Called Quakers;" "Primitive Christianity Revived;" and "A Description of Pennsylvania, 1683."

So far as a somewhat hasty examination can show, the reprints are accurate. The spelling, capitalization and punctuation have been modernized, as is desirable for the general reader.

The "Introduction" is "The Author's Life By Joseph Besse." It is again praiseworthy that the editor should have chosen this sketch rather than have written a new one; but surely he should have stated that it is an abridgment of the original. It is true that most of the omissions are papers, letters, accounts of trials, etc., etc., which are very well omitted when the life is used as an introduction to a volume for popular use like the present, but surely these omissions should have been mentioned, at least, in a foot-note. The bibliography is full, but there has not been time to verify it. The list of lives, however, is by no means beyond criticism. W. H. Dixon revised his "Life," calling it "The History of William Penn, Founder of Pennsylvania," and published it in 1872; Mrs. Colquhoun Grant's "Quaker and Courtier," etc., is full of errors and not worthy of mention; R. J. Burdette's "William Penn" is avowedly a "Comic Life," and, while appreciative to a remarkable degree, is in no sense to be considered as a "*Life*." "The Penns and Penningtons" by Maria Webb should not have been omitted even in a brief list, nor should Samuel M. Janney's Life of Penn.

620016

NOTES AND QUERIES

AN ADJOURNED LONDON YEARLY MEETING.—For the first time, we believe, in history an adjourned session of London Yearly Meeting has been held. London Yearly Meeting held in Fifth month, 1915, adjourned with a Minute reading, "We leave the Meeting for Sufferings at liberty to call together the representatives appointed to this Yearly Meeting, should such a course appear necessary. Such meeting, if summoned, is to be considered as an adjournment of this Meeting, and is to be open to all Friends."

In view of the practically certain passage by Parliament of a Military Service Bill, the London Meeting for Sufferings held First month 7th, 1916, decided that an adjourned session of the Yearly Meeting should be held, the date of which should be left to the Yearly Meeting's "Agenda Committee." The dates subsequently fixed upon were First month 28th, 29th, 30th, the latter being First-day. The only subject to be considered was the attitude and action Friends should take in the crisis before them in regard to compulsory military service. The Military Service Act became law First month 27th, 1916, so the issue was directly before Friends. The adjourned Yearly Meeting is said to have been the largest gathering ever known at Devonshire House, every seat on the floor of the large meeting-

room, and in the galleries being filled, and the steps and aisles being crowded. A report of the discussions and conclusions will be found in *The Friend* (London) 2d month 4th, 11th, 1916. See also official "Extracts," etc., 1916.

"OUR MISSIONS"—The history of this paper is an interesting one. The first magazines issued in connection with Foreign Missions was the *Children's Missionary Gazette*, 8 pp., illustrated, at the price of one penny monthly, beginning First month, 1876. In 1877 the name was changed to *Friend of Missions*. From 1892 to 1894 the paper was in abeyance; but in the latter part of 1894 a monthly was started, known as *Our Missions*. A new series was begun in 1906, the size enlarged to thirty-eight or forty pages, and the publication made quarterly. With the beginning of 1916 a return to a monthly was made. It is the largest and best purely Missionary paper among Friends but, naturally, it is almost wholly devoted to the work of British Friends. The Editors of the paper have been chronologically, Caroline W. Pumphrey, Jane E. Newman, Mary Hodgkin, Dr. Henry T. Hodgkin and Raymond Whitwell, who is the present Editor. It is the organ of the Friends' Foreign Mission Association. The offices are at 15 Devonshire St., Bishopsgate, London, E. C.

PENN'S STATUE ON CITY
HALL, PHILADELPHIA.

FRANCES T. RHOADS.

Above the busy throngs that
crowd and hustle

Above the din of traffic's noisy
call,

Above the jarring thought—the
aching muscle,

He stands serene and tall.

Against the storm-cloud black
with coming thunder,

Against the heaven's clear blue,
or sunset gold,

Above our petty life that pulses
under,

Looms up his figure bold.

What would he say, to this, his
own "loved" city,

Could a great voice speak from
that lofty dome?

Would he feel pride and joy, or
only pity,

For his dear "Sylvan" home?

We only know his voice in life
was given

To check discord and bid all
strife to cease;

Where truth by warring factions
would be driven,

He ever spoke for peace.

So that tall form, its lofty tower
possessing,

Our strife still stands above,

Its outstretched hand, extended
as if blessing

The city of its love.

Public Ledger, Philadelphia, Feb-
ruary 3, 1916.

A "DRAFTED" FRIEND IN 1863.

—There died at West Falmouth, Massachusetts, 2d month 29th, 1916, Henry D. Swift in his eighty-third year. His was mostly a quiet life, and yet no common one. He was, with his brother, the late D. Wheeler Swift, of Worcester, Massachusetts, a skillful inventor. The modern clothes-wringing machine with its rubber rollers was due to them, and the envelope machine, which cuts, folds, pastes, prints and counts into packs of twenty-five, was also their work. But it is a personal experience with which we have to do.

When Henry D. Swift was thirty, he was residing in South Dedham, Massachusetts. It was the time of the military draft of 1863, and he was drafted. He went to Concord where the drafted men were being mobilized. He was a birthright member of the Society of Friends, and thoroughly believed in their principles—one of which is that it was wrong to take human life. While at Concord, he was ordered to take part in military drills. This he resolutely refused to do, it being contrary to the dictates of his conscience. For this he was put into the guard-house, but he adhered to his determination and refrained from all military activity at Concord, as well as later on, when sent to Long Island, and to Boston Harbor. From here troops were being constantly sent south

to replenish armies in the field. While at Long Island he gladly helped in hospital services, but refused all remuneration for his services. He was "bucked down"* and was finally told by the officers he would be shot for refusal to obey orders. He was taken from the guard-house and made to witness an execution, and was told that that would be his fate if he persisted in his insubordination; but he still remained firm. He was tried by court-martial and sentenced to be shot.

During his stay at Long Island, he was visited by Stephen A. Chase, of Lynn, and Charles R. Tucker, of New Bedford, both prominent members of the Society

of Friends. They went to Washington and stated the facts of Henry D. Swift's case to President Lincoln and Secretary Stanton. When the matter was considered by the President he directed that an honorable parole be made out. This was done and delivered to Henry Swift shortly before the time he had been informed his execution was to take place. This was in the fall of 1863. "It is needless to say he was never called upon."—Condensed from Worcester (Mass.), *Gazette*, March 1, 1916.

WILLIAM FORREST ESTATE.—This trust is one of the oldest under the care of Philadelphia Friends. It was created under the will of William Forrest, of Philadelphia, who died in 1714. The bequest was for the purpose of aiding in the education of deserving youth of Philadelphia and neighborhood belonging to the Society of Friends. A clear and interesting history of the administration of this trust by Watson W. Dewees, is given in successive numbers of *The Friend* (Philadelphia), from First month 27th to Second month 24th, 1916, both dates inclusive.

*NOTE. "The expression 'bucked down' is one used for a certain punishment which was used at that time in the army. The victim is made to sit on the ground with his knees drawn up so that his arms will reach around them; then the hands are tied. A musket is then run over the arms at the elbows and under the knees. In this position a man is fairly helpless and most uncomfortable."

ANNUAL MEETING OF
FRIENDS' HISTORICAL
SOCIETY OF PHILADEL-
PHIA, 1916.

The Twelfth Annual Meeting of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia was held at Twelfth Street Meeting-house, Philadelphia, on the evening of Second month 21, 1916. There were about sixty members present at the business meeting. As the President was absent, Isaac Sharpless presided.

Amelia M. Gummere, the editor of the new edition of John Woolman's Journal and Works, reported that some historical research was being made in Friends' Records in England, and that some new material had been discovered in private hands, and that it was thought wiser to delay publication until this new material was available. She also spoke of the John Woolman Memorial Association, an account of which appeared in the last number of THE BULLETIN. The sum of \$2,840 has been contributed for the purchase of the house and grounds at Mount Holly, New Jersey. An effort is being made to restore this to its original form as nearly as possible. Several appropriate gifts for

the furnishing of the house have been received, and more are desired. A number of fruit trees have been given for planting. It is estimated that \$700 more is required to put the property in good repair. It is planned to provide a tea-room, from which, and the orchard in time, some income, it is hoped, will be derived.

The bronze tablet, bearing the words of the Prayer of William Penn for Philadelphia, of which an account was given in the last number of THE BULLETIN, is still unplaced, owing to the difficulty of finding an appropriate place and design acceptable to the Art Jury of the City Property. Some discussion revealed that in the prevailing opinion the Society was in favor of a location at the City Hall.

The meeting then adjourned to the tea-room where supper was served to a large company.

Caroline Smedley read a brief report of a meeting of the Pennsylvania Federation of Historical Societies to which she was a delegate.

Mary Willits Brown read an interesting paper, which will be found elsewhere in this number of the BULLETIN, on the John Warder School in Amsterdam,

Holland. William Warder Bacon and Joel Cadbury, both descendants of John Warder, supplemented the paper with interesting remarks.

Dr. William I. Hull, of Swarthmore College, was then introduced, and gave an address on "The Quakers in Holland." He dwelt fully on the sources of information which are scanty, and consist of manuscript records of the meetings, annual epistles, letters of individuals, city archives, and the references to Friends in contemporary controversial pamphlets. Some of the records which were taken to England are believed to have been destroyed when Gracechurch Street Meeting-house was burned in 1821.

The strength of the Friends in Holland was chiefly in a few cities and scattered agricultural districts.

OFFICERS OF FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PHILADELPHIA.

President, Davis H. Forsythe.
Vice-Presidents, Isaac Sharpless,
Amelia M. Gummere.
Secretary, Mary S. Allen.
Treasurer, Mary S. Allen.

Councillors serving 1915-1916:

Caroline W. Smedley,
Bernard G. Waring,
Walter W. Haviland,
Howard E. Yarnall,
Mary Anna Jones,
Susanna W. Lippincott.

Councillors serving 1916-1917:

Hannah P. Morris,
Lucy C. Shelmire,
Alice H. Yarnall,
Walter Brinton,
Francis R. Taylor,
D. Robert Yarnall.

BULLETIN OF

Friends' Historical Society

OF

Philadelphia

(Founded Fifth Month 16, 1904)

VOLUMES V-VI

1913-1915

Philadelphia

FERRIS & LEACH

29 S. Seventh Street

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ERRATA.

Vol. VI, p. 71, fourth line from bottom, for *Fordham* read Farnham.

p. 73, ll. 12, 23, the parentheses should be square brackets ([]).

p. 76, l. 5. For *his sister* read her sister.

p. 8, l. 8. For *T* read F.

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NOTE.—The editor does not hold himself responsible for any statement made in contributed articles.

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SOME ACCOUNT OF A JOURNEY TO THE CHEROKEES IN 1839-1840; BEING EXTRACTS FROM THE JOURNAL OF DAVID E. KNOWLES.

CONCLUDED.

7th month 10, 1840.—Started on our way to another neighborhood, rode about two miles; crossed the Plenoy¹ [sic] River by boat, then rode near two miles to a branch called the Barren Fork. The water was high by reason of late rains. We could not pass over safely, so were obliged to return.

11th.—After breakfast I thought right to propose that the family be called together, which was readily done, and a chapter read, after which supplication was offered up and the word of exhortation sounded, and so closed feeling some relief. . . . After rode ten miles to Joseph Coody's. Simon [our companion] is some complaining with symptoms of fever and went to bed.

14th.—Rode towards Parkhill. Called at Loony Price's, then to William Williams for the night.

15th.—Spent most of the day at McCoy's, then to J. Ross's that night.

16th.—Afternoon crossed the Plenoy River, and forded the Barren Fork four times; rode fifteen miles, stayed at ——— Tiner's.

17th.—Rode sixteen miles to Jesse Busbyhead's at Pleasant Hill. He is a Baptist preacher, a Cherokee.

19th.—J. Busbyhead left home this morning, having to attend to some appointments already made. The Missionary did not preach because he had no interpreter, so the meeting was held by a Methodist Cherokee in the forenoon, and we were allowed the afternoon. Although my mind has been much exercised considerable of the time we have been here lest I should miss the path of duty under the present trial, yet the Good Master was pleased to favor us with His presence, and gave us some service among

¹This is probably the Illinois River of Oklahoma, into which the branch, Barren Fork, runs.

them, which I trust tended to the encouragement of some, notwithstanding there was no interpreter, for many of the Cherokees can understand English better than they can speak it. Our manner of worship is so strange to them, they being accustomed to see so much activity of the creature and that nearly in the same round of ceremony. Our neglect of the ceremony at the table is another wonder to them, and often brings close trial as they expect it, and request it of me; the refusal of which often requires an explanation for the clearing of Truth and their satisfaction.

20th.—Went to Batys Pararie [Prairie] and stayed at B. F. Thomson's, about thirty miles. . . .

21st.—Rode two miles to the United Brethren's Mission. They received us very kindly. Being new beginners their accommodations were small, but they seemed to take delight in doing what they could, and a pleasant visit we had.

22d.—Rode to Richard Taylor's, two miles. Miles Vogler and wife, missionaries, went with us to the Indian town near by. We met several of them under some trees where we had a short opportunity with them. They expressed much thanks that they were thus remembered. It also tended much to the relief of my own mind. We then rode to Miles Vogler's and to B. F. Thomson's to lodge.

25th.—Went to Honey Creek to the widow Susanna Ridge's, twenty miles. She could talk no English, but her daughter, the wife of ———— Pascal of Vanburen, was there and served for interpreter.

26th, First day.—We staid over First day. There seemed little satisfaction here. They are much estranged from the rest of the Nation.² Several of their neighbors came to see them, and just as we were about to give them the reason of our coming, they requested the same, which was given, first by presenting my certificate and then expressing our feelings with and for the Cherokees in their troubles without distinction of party, and expressing our desire that peace and harmony might be restored again.

²The Ridge faction believed it expedient to accept the situation and make the best of it. See page 20, note, *ante*.

Also, that they might look to Christ the alone source of all true consolation, which is beyond the reach of the rage of man. To which they made little or no reply, but seemed to treat us with freedom.

26th.—Went to John Huff's, a Cherokee and Presbyterian preacher. He could not speak English, and, being sick, our visit was mostly in silence, as only one of his sons, a lad, could talk with us and that but little. A neighbor called toward night. We could talk with him some, and he seemed to leave with feelings of much friendship.

28th.—Under renewed feelings of necessity I requested the family might sit down a little time before we left. It was readily done and I felt to read the 11th chapter of Hebrews. After sitting a little while supplication was made to the Father of Mercies. Soon after this his son-in-law came home. He could speak English well, so we gave him my certificate; he seemed to feel much unity with us, and said though he could not understand nor had heard of us until we came to his house, but on first seeing us he judged what was the object of our visit.

Having felt drawings in my mind to direct an address or Epistle to the Cherokees in general Council to be in Tenth month next, and having one prepared which was approved by my companions, my wife also signed the same with me, which I enclosed in a letter to John Ross principal Chief, for his perusal, and, if approved, he was desired to have it fully interpreted to the people.³ So we took our leave of them. Being the upper settlement in that tract of the Cherokee country, we rode ten miles to Daniel Adams's in the Seneca Nation. At evening we rode one mile to David Cummings in Missouri, a Methodist missionary.

29th.—Returned to D. Adams's, he also a Methodist missionary of the Mohawk tribe, his wife of the Stockbridge tribe of Massachusetts. She received her education among Friends on Long Island. We felt ourselves much at home here. They be-

³A copy of this Epistle is given in the *Journal*, but as it is little more than what has already been said, it is not printed here. It does not appear whether the Epistle was presented by Ross or not.—Editor.

stowed on us every comfort their circumstances would allow, and the wife in particular seemed much to enjoy the company of Friends now.

30th.—Having become satisfied, or seeing no other way, but to try for an interview with the Chief of the Senecas, whom we understood was opposed to religion and the civilization of his people,—however trying we started to visit him at his own house, eight miles distant, Daniel Adams going with us for interpreter. We rode about three miles to the house of the second Chief. We were told that the other was not at home, and it was very uncertain when he would be. From the second Chief we learned that the reports were true—they did not want the white people to trouble them. This, no doubt, is the effect of the ill-treatment they have received from time to time, until they have lost all confidence in the white man. We informed him of the object of our visit, that it was nothing but love and friendship that we felt toward them, although the white people had done them much wrong, had been very bad, yet there were many amongst them who were the Indians' friends, and would be glad to do them good. They treated us kindly and showed us their fine things, but when anything was said about white people coming among them to learn them to work and so forth, their countenances would soon change. After spending an hour or two we left them and went back to D. Adams's, and felt much relieved in that I had given up to visit the head of this Nation although we were defeated in the attempt.

31st.—Left the house of our kind friends Daniel and Lecta Adams with whom we parted as with old friends or relations especially with the women. Left the Senecas in order to visit the Quapaws, a small tribe about twenty-five miles distant.⁴ When we had gone several miles we staid at the home of the Nation interpreter for the Senecas, a Mohawk by nation. He said the objection to civilization among the Senecas was mostly with the chiefs, that the common people would be willing to have schools among them. He also told us that we could not get to the Qua-

⁴This was in what is now the extreme northeastern corner of Oklahoma.

paws by reason of high water in a river we must cross, being raised by heavy rains, and no boat to help us. Would be likely to hinder us several days. We were now under the necessity of going back fifteen miles or turn our course and give up seeing the tribe, for there was no place that we could stay at here until the waters would fall. So we turned our course and passed by them, and having rode ten miles to the next house being in the State of Missouri, where we expected to stop all night, it was now sunset; they had no corn for our horses, so we were obliged to go five miles more, the road bad in places, the evening dark and mostly in the woods. We got safe to the place at nine o'clock much fatigued and the horses more so. This was at the Great Falls of Shoal Creek in Missouri.⁵ The water was now high.

8th month 1.—Crossed the creek, the water was as high as we could pass with safety. We rode about twenty miles that day, we arrived about sunset at Samuel Bright's, one of our horses was just on the point of giving out, I think could not have gone one mile more to save her life. On examining the beast it was concluded that her failure was on account of giving too much corn the night before not having had any for several days before, only oats on the sheaf. This together with the heat which was much increased by having to drive them with the covers on to keep off the flies. Next morning the beast was much better, and ate well. We had every favor here that we needed.

2nd, First day.—We left here about seven o'clock in the evening and crossed Spring Creek, and after going about three miles in the woods, S. Bright being with us, we came to the edge of the great prairie having failed to get a pilot as would have done. Strangers in a strange land we were obliged to make as much of our journey as we could in the night because of the flies which sometimes drive the poor beasts to death. So we parted with S. Bright. It was thirty miles to the next house on the road and only one on the way, being one mile from the road, that we passed in the night, and reached inhabitants about eight in the morning,

⁵It has not been possible to identify this stream, the name has been changed.

but still had to go six miles more to get feed for our horses. Here we rested till near sunset, but several things combined together made our stay quite unpleasant—such as the filthiness of the place, and the constant watch they kept over us, whether sleeping or awake, and that by staring boldly at us or by looking in through some crack or hole of which there was a plenty. So we got but little rest; the horses also being much fatigued, but able to travel, so we set out for another night's ride across the prairie, and rode until twelve at night, when we thought it safest to stop as dark clouds had gathered around and sharp flashes of lightning were frequent followed by loud peals of thunder. Thus, without even a single bush to which we could fasten our horses, we made the best preparations we could to meet the coming storm, and passed the remainder of the night. The storm was not severe and we all got a little sleep towards day, which refreshed us. In the morning we proceeded on our journey and crossed the Big Osage River. The banks were very steep on both sides. Then took [our way] across the prairie to the Old Harmony Mission on the next bend of the river, five miles above the ford, where we arrived about ten o'clock in the morning. Staid until about the same time next day.

4th.—Here is a small school of Osage children mostly orphans, raised here from infancy, under care of the Mission Board. The teacher Elizabeth ———, daughter of John B. Howell of Philadelphia, he was a Friend.

5th.—Left Old Harmony and rode thirty miles to Grand River. Had a hard rain this morning that backed [held back] the flies much. Hired our kind friend, McSpadden, with whom we had found comfortable entertainment for the night, to put his oxen to our carriage and take it over the river and up the bank which was so steep that our own horses would not have been able to draw it up as their shoes were worn very smooth and the clay was very wet and slippery. My wife and I then rode on his horse, one at a time, his hired man leading it by the bridle across the river to the bank. Then with some of their help we also got up the bank and found ourselves all safe over about twelve o'clock.

We felt thankful, I believe, that we were favored to find kind helpers at such a time as this whom we felt it right to reward beyond their charge for their labors. Rode about fifteen miles.

7th.—Rode about twenty-four miles, mostly across the prairie, and stopped that night at one of the most disagreeable places that we have seen in the whole journey.

8th.—Rode about thirteen miles to Friends' establishment in the Shawnee Nation, Henry Harvey, Superintendent, who, with his family, was very glad to see us and we them.

9th.—Attended their family meeting and felt that the Good Master was near. They hold meeting there twice a week together with the scholars of the school and such of the people as please to come and sit with them.

14th.—In conversation with our friend Simon D. Harvey [our companion] concerning our visit to these Indian countries and the small service we had found to be required, I said, many, perhaps, may think it never worth while to take so much pains and be at such expense for so little; he said, many no doubt might think so, but, said he, that one meeting alone that we had with them Spring Creek was sufficient to warrant the visit with all the trouble and expense without anything more. . . .

20th.—Being very sensible that we had been too easily discouraged by which we had passed the Quapaws without visiting them—a subject that had rested with weight upon me at times so that I thought best to speak of it, but in looking at the difficulties attending a return the subject was soon dropped. But it was so laid on me this day that I could see no way for me but to give up to go back near two hundred miles, and leave the result, trying as it was, and the more so as my wife and I must go alone, Simon D. Harvey not thinking to go with us, but to take a boat and go home. Under these trying circumstances, feeling that we could trust in none but the Lord, alone, I endeavoured to leave my cause to Him, and retired to bed.

21st.—Having reflected on the trial that the present prospect brought on my friends, and my wife especially, although they did

not oppose, yet could not see quite with me as to the necessity of going back; and endeavoring after true submission, the burden gradually withdrew, and the prospect of endeavoring to reach Indiana Yearly Meeting seemed clearer than at any time before, and I thought if ever I experienced a release from required duty it was at this time. So I informed my friends how it was with me, and we made some preparations for starting.

22d.—About ten o'clock got under way, and rode to Independence, eighteen miles. Henry Harvey's son Caleb was with us to take back the carriage and our horse in case that we could get a boat.

23d.—On our way to the river this morning in going down a steep hill, myself alone in the carriage, the horses became unmanageable by reason of the lines not being on right. They left the road and went directly off the bank, one horse fell down while the other kept her feet. Though the hill was short it was so steep that the carriage came over towards the horses, but bearing a little to the right side fell partly on the horse that was down. He remained so quiet that it was thought he was dead, yet unexpected as it was to us, in one hour's time we found ourselves under way again, all things put in order, found no material damage to horses or carriage. . . . When we came to the river found the boat was gone some hours before, and none being expected soon, we decided immediately to go on by land. And by steady perseverance found ourselves at St. Louis on Third day evening, the first of the Ninth month [1840], all in good health.

[The arrival at St. Louis completed the visit to the Indian tribes. Our friends crossed into Illinois, and made their way to Richmond, Indiana. After attending the Yearly Meeting they visited most of the meetings belonging to that Yearly Meeting, including those in Michigan. They then went on to New York, visiting meetings, and finally reached their home in Vermont in Seventh month, 1841, of which the following is the record: "After attending [New York] Yearly Meeting we returned pretty directly home, and met all of our dear ones—friends and relations—none of them having died during our absence, and having

our children all with us now, we soon retired to our solitary abode after the absence of more than twenty months." The trip, with the exception of the steamboat from Cincinnati to Little Rock, made in their own carriage and with the same horses, was certainly a remarkable one, and of itself is worthy of record. What was accomplished from a religious point of view, is impossible to say, but it can hardly be doubted that such simple, earnest and faithful service was not without result.—EDITOR.]

"JOHN EVANS VS. ELLIS YARNALL AND OTHERS,"
1810.

This trial is one of the *causes célèbres* of American Quakerism, and occasioned much comment at the time. Like many cases, neither party was wholly clear of blame. The Friends, on their part, even by their own admission, seem to have been somewhat lacking in Christian love, and too ready to rest upon precedent and routine. John Evans, on his part, was evidently a man difficult to deal with, as his published account ¹ shows very clearly.

The question arose regarding a dispute between John Evans and John Field, both Friends, regarding the assignment of John Field, who had failed in business, John Evans being one of the assignees. It is difficult to understand clearly the merits of the case with the knowledge available, but the result of the trial, the character of the defendants, and the length of time the case was before the Meeting seem conclusive that Evans was essentially in the wrong. John Evans and his wife sent in their resignations, which after a time were accepted; but in such a way that the Minute, John Evans declared, "amounted to a *disownment*." This, he claimed, was "cruel and unjust treatment;" and also that the sending by the Women's Meeting of a committee to call on his wife was "endeavoring to alienate the affections of his wife from him." On these grounds, and because one of the woman Friends,

¹A Narrative of the Proceedings of the Religious Society of the People called Quakers in Philadelphia *Against* John Evans, etc. Philadelphia, 1811. 8vo. pp. 238.

as he claimed, insisted on entering his house after he forbade her to enter was trespass, and putting her hand on him was technically committing "assault and battery." He, therefore, sued the Overseers, laying damages at \$20,000. Other particulars are given in the letter. The defendants were "Ellis Yarnall, Richard Humphreys, Jonathan Willis, Thomas Savery, Isaac Parrish, Caleb Carmalt, Benjamin Kite, John James, David Bacon,² Abrm. Liddon,² John Elliott,² Hannah Clark, Robert Haydock and Susannah his wife, and Caleb Pearce and Jane his wife."

The writer of the subjoined letter, Ellis Yarnall (1757-1847), was for fifty years or more one of the most prominent Friends of Philadelphia. Judicial trials in the early nineteenth century were open to criticism as well as in the twentieth century, and to show this is one of the objects in printing this hitherto unpublished letter.

The printed "Narrative" by John Evans, already referred to, is, on the face of it, an *ex parte* and prejudiced account. This case is probably one of the trying events referred to by Rebecca Jones in a letter of 1807.³

Philada. 11th Mo. 27, 1810.

Dear Brother ⁴

After a week of unusual anxiety & fatigue I sit down to endeavour to get my Ideas sufficiently collected to give thee some account of the Issue of the long projected suit of John Evans against the Overseers and several other Friends of our Monthly Meeting, in all sixteen in number, including David Bacon, A. Liddon and Jno. Elliott, now deceased, among whom were Hannah Clark, Susannah Haydock, & Jane Peirce, a Committee appointed to visit his wife on her sending a resignation of her right of membership to them, accompanied with a letter stating that she would not see any committee from that meeting on the

²Died previous to the trial.

³Memoir of Rebecca Jones, W. J. Allinson, Philadelphia, 1849, 2d ed. pp. 331, 332.

⁴Probably Nathan Yarnall.

ocation. Women Friends, however, were not easy to record her Resignation without endeavouring to have an opportunity of conferring with her thereon. The action was brought for a pretended assault and battery against the person, and trespass on the property of said J. Evans by those Women Friends. In the investigation of these charges his attorneys embraced the privilege which it afforded them of inspecting into the proceedings of the Men's Meeting against John, which he alledged had been cruel; and by an unwarrantable exercise of Church Discipline amounting to religious persecution & Tyranny, connecting divers other charges, such as endeavouring to alienate the affections of his wife from him etc. Etc., for which he claimed damages to the amount of twenty thousand dollars. His complaints were chiefly against the Overseers, and, as I apprehend, with a view to prevent our bringing any testimony to disprove his allegations, he included all of the Overseers in the suit, as well as all the three women, though only one seemed, by the testimony of his own witness, to be the aggressor. This circumstance embarrassed us considerable on the tryal & left an obscurity on some actions which might have been fully cleared up had any of our number been admitted as witnesses. The tryal came on the third day of last week at the Supreme Court before Judge Brackenridge. We had much wished to have try'd it before Chief Judge Tilghman, & it had been marked for Tryal at several of the last courts where he presided, but our opponents had the address to get it postponed till this time & to bring it on under the presidency of Brackenridge who resides in one of the Back counties of their State, & was raised to this station soon after McKean's first election to Governor,⁵ with perhaps little to recommend him but his Democratic principles, & during the course of the Tryal it sufficiently appeared that, to say the least, he was not prejudiced in favour of our Society. Thus were we drawn into this very important tryal under very discouraging circumstances.

⁵Thomas McKean, Governor, 1799-1808. He was a strong Democrat.

It was, as remarked by attorney Rawle,⁶ “a very novel case in a court of Pennsylvania to have sixteen of the People called Quakers, whose leading principle is love, forbearance, & good will to men, & when they are smitten on the one cheek to turn the other, arraigned at the Bar for assault and battery,” and perhaps not less novel to have the proceedings of a Monthly Meeting try’d by our own Discipline in a Court of Justice to which we were forced to submit by the decision of the Judge—and for want of a little more timely exertion on the part of our Lawyers. Our opponents employed 4 of the most eminent attorneys. We had three. An advantage was taken of an affidavit of an absent witness which declared that Hannah Clark had entered the Plaintiff’s door after he forbid her so doing; which might have been very excusable, even if it had been so, as she is very hard of hearing, but the fact was otherways, and could have easily been proven to be so had either Jane or Susannah been admitted as witnesses. After the utmost ingenuity of our opponent’s counsel, & a very able defense from ours, who appeared to engage in the cause from principle, and after a charge from the Bench seldom equalled for its partial details containing insinuations against us, which even the opposite counsel had not thought of, the Jury retired about 7 o’clock last evening, and this morning returned a verdict for *Plaintiff, damages half-a-cent*⁷ but *no costs*. They found themselves under a necessity of giving a verdict in this way owing to our not being able to repel the charge of H. C. entering the house without his consent; but the trifling damage of half-a-cent, & throwing the cost on J. Evans sufficiently stamps the action with their decided disapprobation, and will, I trust, prevent future attempts against the order of Society in regard to our Discipline. This Tryal which lasted a whole week had excited considerable

⁶William Rawle, John Hallowell, William Lewis were counsel for Defendants; J. W. Condry, Moses Levy, Jared Ingersoll, Edward Tilghman for Plaintiff.

⁷There was at the time a half-cent coin in circulation.

interest not only amongst Friends but among the citizens in general, as was evident by the crowded house during the whole time, & the result appears satisfactory to almost every class.

My wife & children unite in love to you and your children with your affect.

Brother

ELLIS YARNALL.

N B. Were I not writing to thee an apology for the imperfections of this letter would be necessary, but such has been the state of my mind during the tryal that I have not been able to take my usual sleep. Much of the arrangement of our defense having rested on myself & one other Friend who had been deputed as Managers on behalf of the Defendants.

JOSEPH JOHN GURNEY IN PHILADELPHIA, 1837.

[The following account of the arrival of Joseph John Gurney at Philadelphia in 1837, and his first few days in that city, is taken from a manuscript copy of an autobiographical sketch written on his homeward voyage "on board the *Roscus*, 8 mo. 4th 1840."]

After a voyage of forty seven days [in the ship *Monongahela*] we landed at Philadelphia on the fifth day even of 8 mo. 24th 1837, and found my dear friend John Paul on the wharf awaiting our arrival. One night at sea when I was troubled and anxious respecting our voyage, a kind of mental sight was given me before I fell asleep of him and his valued wife Hannah Paul and their comfortable abode, with an intimation that these were the hosts and this the *rest* prepared for me at Philadelphia. The effect at the time was to send me quietly to sleep, and truly on my arrival I found the vision verified.

Never was a travelling Friend more hospitably and benevolently treated than I have been under that peaceful roof in North Fifth Street. . . .

Stephen Grellet so long known and loved, and Thomas Evans, my intimate correspondent by letter, were at the house expecting me. Sweet peace and much solemnity attended my arrival and the language of thanksgiving was poured forth, I hope acceptably. . . .

The first effect of Philadelphia was at once interesting and strange to me—the appearance of it to my feelings, foreign—the weather very warm—the rows of trees, (many of them new to me) in the streets, beautiful—the wooded squares still more so—the incessant sounds of the cricket at night, rather soothing—the whole scene, one of much greater order and quietness than belong to the generality of great cities.

I much enjoyed walking about with Thomas Evans with whom I immediately felt, as he did with me, the familiarity of old friendship. He is a person of pleasing manner and personal appearance, faithful and warm hearted, much devoted to the cause of Christ, well-informed, of excellent talents, having more of fluency than strength as a writer and both strong and fluent as a speaker; rather infirm in body, and certainly much too prone to discouragement. . . .

To attend my first meeting in America was *strange* to my feelings; yet much of quietness and solemnity was felt on the occasion. It was at the North Meeting. The fans were going all the time on the women's side, but with this practice I soon became familiar. In the evening a vast meeting was assembled in Arch Street, when I opened my Commission (without any previous view of the kind) by a defence of the character and sentiments of our early Friends. "The memory of the just is blessed." In connection with this subject, the Gospel was, I trust, fully preached. The sermon was taken down verbatim by a young "Hicksite," and afterwards published. Great was the peace in which I left Philadelphia the next morning, with my friend John Paul on our journey to Mt. Pleasant in Ohio, where the Yearly Meeting for that State was about to be held.

[The following contemporary remarks on the arrival and presence of Joseph John Gurney at Philadelphia are interesting.

They are taken from a letter written by Julianna R. Wood, of Philadelphia, to "Richard Cadbury, Esq., Birmingham, England."]

Philadelphia 8th Mo. 27, 1837.

My much respected friend :

I have just returned from a meeting that would have rejoiced thy heart to have attended. A Meeting at which were present about three thousand persons, as we conjecture, the room in the Arch street house comfortably accommodates 2500,¹ it was filled to overflowing, benches brought into the aisles, and many who could nowhere obtain seats clustered in the doorways, and round the windows. It was the first time of seeing him to many of his audience, who evinced the deepest attention and most breathless interest in what he had to communicate. Interest not unmingled with anxiety in the minds of some from the reports of all sorts currently circulated of him. The words he commenced with were "The memory of the just is blessed, it shall not decay." [He] went on to say, so was that of our father Abraham, who on Mount Moriah bound his son for a sacrifice ; so was that of Moses who esteemed the reproach of Christ greater riches than all the treasures of Egypt ; so was that of the earliest disciples of our Lord, who left all to follow him, resigning their homes and renouncing the comforts of this life to promulgate the everlasting Gospel in the midst of peril and suffering. And blessed indeed to us should be that of the worthy founders of our Society, who so faithfully obeyed the divine requirement of them and who, however they might now be traduced, were founded, if any people ever were, on the immutable Rock of Ages. Subjects strictly doctrinal followed in more beautiful order than I can give any account of. . . . He spoke an hour and near a quarter, and appeared in supplication, he had done both in the morning and afternoon meetings and the evening being warm he seemed a good deal exhausted. . . . He sets off to-morrow for Ohio Yearly Meeting commencing on seventh

¹In the Memoirs of Joseph John Gurney, vol. ii, p. 97, the number is estimated at 2000.

day next. The moment of his arriving at John Paul's door from the vessel is said to have been one of much interest. Stephen Grellet was among those awaiting him. He leaped from the carriage exclaiming, "My dear friend Stephen Grellet!" when they embraced with much emotion and affection. On entering the house he fell on his knees sweetly returning thanks to the Almighty power who had preserved him."

WOMEN'S YEARLY MEETING AT ARCH ST. MEETING HOUSE, 1805.

"Had you staid another day with us you would have been fairly in the Yearly Meeting bustle, as the Uncles, Aunts, and Cousins flocked in that morning by dozens. In the afternoon we all assembled at the new House,¹ and I very much doubt whether modern times ever witnessed so large a collection of females; many attended through curiosity on that day, that have perhaps not attended a meeting house this seven years before. It would scarcely hold the half of us, and poor James Vaux bustled about till he was quite in a perspiration to find seats, but all in vain, it would *not* hold us. And it has been extremely crowded through the week—the gate-keepers say 17 hundred have attended and that Market St. house will not contain 16 [hundred] seated. However every body has found fault, and a very partial vote of thanks for our new accommodation has reached our Masters. To give thee my own opinion, I cannot see what is now to be done, but divide the Yearly Meeting, and raise more of the benches so that we can *see* as well as *hear* what is going forward. But R. Jones [Rebecca Jones] (our Queen) has *commanded* us not to say anything more about it, lest the Men should be discouraged from attempting to please us again."

Ann Shoemaker to her sister Rebecca (Shoemaker) Cope, Philadelphia 4 mo. 21, 1805.

¹This was the eastern wing, now occupied by men Friends at Yearly Meeting.

In connection with the above letter the contemporary notices by Rebecca Jones will be interesting.

"Fifth month 1st, [1805]. Since the last note our Yearly Meeting has been held. . . . The women's meetings were held in the new house, built for that purpose, in Arch street burying ground, and was very large. It was said by some Men Friends who took the account, that sixteen hundred were accommodated in it. . . . The meeting ended on Seventh-day about 11 o'clock, but not so soon as we wished, and hoped it would. . . .

"Seventh month 8, [1805]. Friends of High Street (Market St.), last Fifth-day, removed their week-day meeting to the new house on Arch Street. . . .

"Ninth month 23, [1805]. To Mary Bevan, wife of Joseph Gurney Bevan, England. Our late Yearly meeting [women's] was held in the new house, built for the accommodation of women Friends, which is found convenient, and will be more so when our brethren shall build one for themselves, as contemplated, on the same lot, in unison with it." *Memorials of Rebecca Jones*, 2d edition [1849] pp. 315, 318, 321.²

ITEMS FROM OLD ALMANACS.

The following items from old Almanacs throw considerable light on the opportunities for travel somewhat over a hundred years ago. The stages in the Middle and Southern States ran at still less frequent intervals, and inns, and even what were considered in those days the requisites of travel, were sadly lacking.

The journals of the Friends give some information on these points, but much less than we should like to have. Most Friends travelled by private conveyance or on horseback. They went from one Friend's house to another, and as it was considered a privilege to entertain "public" Friends, including their horses, long distances could be covered at a trifling cost, except of time, which was abundant. Travel was not confined to "public"

²The western wing was added in 1811, and the women's meeting first occupied it Third-day, the 16th of Fourth month, 1811; on the same day the men first occupied the eastern wing, hitherto occupied by the women.

Friends, however, all were welcome, and no doubt the news brought by the traveller, and the variety in a life which was much more a matter of routine than at present, was thought ample repayment for food, lodging and horse feed.

It should be helpful and suggestive to us, in these days of "rapid transit" and motor rush, to be brought a little in touch with the life of our forefathers, and so get to understand them better. These country Friends had no religious periodicals, only a stray newspaper now and then, and but scanty means of obtaining information of the outside world. Knowledge of conditions of life not seldom give the key to many Society troubles.

The notices in these Almanacs regarding the holdings of the Meetings of Friends are interesting, as they seem to indicate that Friends were an important part of the community. Similar information regarding other denominations is either absent or given with much less fulness.

It seems strange that in an almanac for 1790, prepared by Elisha Thornton, a Friend, that except for the time and place of holding "Friends' Yearly Meeting for New England," no other meetings are mentioned, while in some other almanacs, as shown below, the lists are very full.

In the issue of Elisha Thornton's Almanac, just mentioned, beside the "Meeting" information are found "Some Geographical Definitions;" times of holding the "Courts" in New England; the chief "Roads," and a brief "Tide" table. The calendar pages, in addition to the usual information, are furnished with sundry pieces of agricultural advice and "weather wise" items. The latter are generally judiciously spread out so as to cover several days, thus becoming tolerably safe predictions. In first month we read, "Storms about this time;" in Tenth month, "Frost and wind disrobe the trees." Sometimes, however, direct statements are placed against individual dates. Of the advices, the following are specimens: Fifth month 17-18, "It will do to plant yet;" Sixth month 10-13, "Weeding time, keep clean the field, then in return, the greater yield."

The house where this Quaker schoolmaster and almanac maker lived is still standing in excellent condition, though much

altered by extensive additions, near Slatersville, Rhode Island, about eighteen miles northwest of Providence.

FROM "WEATHERWISE FEDERAL ALMANACK, 1789."

Boston, John Norman.

FRIENDS YEARLY MEETING.

At Philadelphia, the 4th first day of the 3d and 6th months. At Wilmington the 1st day after the spring meeting at Philadelphia. At Chester River the 3d seventh day in the fourth month. At Duck Creek, the 4th seventh day in the fourth Month. At Salem, the 3d first day in the fifth Month. At Flushing on L. Island the last 1st day in the fifth Month. At Little Egg Harbour, the 1st first in the 6th Month. At Curls and Black Water, Virginia the 3d seventh in the 6th Month. At West River and C(h)optank, the 1st seventh day in the 6th Month At Little Creek, the 4th seventh day in the 10th Month. At Shrewsbury, Virginia, the 4th first day in the 10th Month. At Cecil, the 3d seventh day in the 10th Month. At Martinecook on L. Island, the last first day in the 10th Month. At the Old Neck in Perquimons, in North Carolina, the 4th sixth day in the 10th Month. At Sandwich, the 6th day before the last 1st day in the 3d Month. At Greenwich, the last 1st day in the fifth Month. At Newport Rhode Island, the 2d sixth day in the sixth Month. At Nantucket the 4th sixth day in the 6th Month. At Kingston, the 2d first day in the 8th Month. At Providence, the 4th first day of the 8th Month. At Salem, the 4th first day in the sixth Month. At Situate, the 1st sixth day in the 10th Month. At Dartmouth, the 4th sixth day in the 10th Month. At Swanzey, the 2d seventh day in the 11th Month.

STAGES—ISAIAH THOMAS'S ALMANACK, 1800.

"New York Mail Stage, by the way of Worcester and Hartford, sets off from Pease's Stage Office in State Street from the 20th April to the 20th of October every Monday, Wednesday and Friday at ten o'clock in the morning, and arrives at New York every Thursday, Saturday and Tuesday at noon. Leaves New

York the same days and hours that it does Boston and arrives at Boston the same days and hours that it does at New York.

“ From the 20th Oct. to the 20th of April this stage leaves Boston every Monday, Wed. and Friday at noon and arrives at New York every Tuesday, Thur. Sat. at 10 in the forenoon. Leaves New York and arrives at Boston on the same days and hours as last mentioned; but when the travelling is good, it arrives in Boston on Mond. Wednes. Frid. evening.

“ N. B. The roads from Boston to Newhaven, by the way of Worcester and Hartford, are the best; and by late actual measurement the distance is 14 miles less than was formerly reckoned. The price of each passenger in the Mail Stage is 6 cents and quarter for each mile, and 5 and a half cents in the Old Line. The whole passage from Newhaven to Boston, 155 miles. The price in the Mail 9 dolls. and 87 cents; in the Old Line 8 dolls. 75 cents: Toll Bridges and Turnpikes are paid by the proprietors.”

FROM A BOSTON ALMANACK OF 1787, PROBABLY THE “ WEATHER-WISE FEDERAL.”

“ Time of arriving and setting off, of the different STAGE COACHES, &c.

“ The Hartford Stage Waggon set out from Mr. Pease's in Common-street, Boston, every Monday and Thursday morning: The New York Stage leaves Copes tavern in Broadway, New York, meet the Hartford Stage at Stratford ferry on Tuesdays and Fridays and exchange passengers; at the same time the Boston and one of the Hartford stages meet at Col. Reed's in Brookfield, and exchange passengers. All the stages return to the places every Wednesday and Friday.

“ The New Hampshire, or Portsmouth Stage Coach sets off from Mr. Dudley Colman's Sign of the Cock near the Mill-bridge Boston, every Monday comes in on Tuesday, sets out on Wednesday returns on Thursday, sets out on Friday returns on Saturday.

“ The Rhode Island or Providence Stage Coaches leaves Hinkley's Sign of White Horse Boston, generally every Monday, Wednesday and Friday, early in the morning, and in good

weather arrive at Providence the same day. The stages set out from Mr. Rice's Providence, for Boston the same time.

"The Salem Stage Coach sets off from Salem, early every morning, arrives at Boston in the afternoon. Sets off from Mrs. Loring's at the sign of the Golden Ball, every afternoon of the same day, and returns back. Arriving and setting off of the different Posts.

"The southern Male arrives at Boston from November 1st to May 1st on Wednesday and Saturday at 7 o'clock P. M. and set out the same evenings; from May the 1st to November the 1st on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday at 8 o'clock.

"The eastern Male arrives and sets out at the same time."

FROM ISAIAH THOMAS'S ALMANACK, 1799.

"RATES OF POSTAGE OF A SINGLE LETTER.

"For 30 miles, 6 cents. For 60 miles, 8 cents. For 100 miles, 10 cents. For 150 miles, 12½ cents. For 200 miles, 15 cents. For 250 miles, 17 cents. For 350 miles, 20 cents. For 450 miles, 22 cents. For more than 450 miles, 25 cents. Every double letter is to pay double the said rates, every triple letter, triple; every packet weighing one ounce, at the rate of four single letters for each ounce. Every enclosure the same as a letter."

ANNUAL EXCURSION OF THE FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY, 1916.

The annual excursions of the Friends' Historical Society have been, perhaps without exception, pleasant occasions, not only from the places of historic interest which have been visited, but also from the social intercourse for which such excursions afford the opportunity. The excursion of 1916 was no exception.

The morning of Sixth month 10th was showery and threatening, but a little before noon the sky was brighter, and at 1.30 p. m. about seventy-five or eighty persons were seated in the special train which had been engaged for the party at Camden, New Jersey. The program for the afternoon was a visit to the "homes

and haunts " of John Woolman, so far as they could be identified, in, and in the neighborhood of Mount Holly, New Jersey. The especial object of the excursion was the house in Mount Holly which John Woolman built for his daughter in 1771, and which had lately been bought and placed in the hands of trustees, the history of which transaction is familiar to readers of the BULLETIN.¹

The first halt was made at Moorestown to take up those at that place who wished to join the party. The next stopping-place was at the station for Masonville, a village. Here, perhaps half the company got off the train and took automobiles, motor moving-vans or other conveyances, which were waiting for them, to visit sites and scenes too distant from Mount Holly to admit of walking in the limited time at disposal.

The procession soon started, and it was amusing to see solid Friends, some of wide reputation, sitting in rows in a car on which was painted in large letters, "Pianos and other articles moved with care and promptness." Others of the company were in a car whose chief business was to take children to and from school, but now pressed into service for "children of a larger growth."

The route lay almost due north, and in a short time a halt was made in front of a grove of fine trees near which was a graveyard evidently of Friendly character. This place, the company was informed, was the site of the meeting-house which John Woolman generally attended. About a quarter of a mile away was seen the old homestead of the numerous family of Stokes. From this place a short run brought us to the peaceful, shall we say sleepy, village of Rancocas. This little village lies embowered in fine trees, its wide shady main street is bordered by large red brick comfortable houses standing singly in well-kept lawns adorned with flower beds and shrubbery. Near the southern entrance of the village is the large brick meeting-house built in 1772, as that date in the gable set forth. This house belongs to the Race Street Friends, and a conference of some kind was being

¹BULLETIN, vol. 6, p. 66.

held. The many automobiles in the old horse-sheds and on the green were strongly inconsistent with the old house and the dwellings which seemed to belong to a place where one could spend his days, "The world forgetting, by the world forgot." As the conference occupied only one-half of the house, a number of the excursionists peeped in to catch a glimpse of the interior. On seeing them, some of those attending the conference came out and cordially greeted the intruders.

After a brief halt, the company started again for the next stopping-place—the old Woolman Farm—on which had stood the house in which John Woolman was born. This farm now belongs to a collateral descendant, and is one of the model fruit-farms of New Jersey. It is carried on after the intensive plan, and to a non-expert it would seem difficult to find trimmer, neater or more closely occupied grounds. The orchards were like flower-beds in their cultivation, and every contrivance seemed to be employed for spraying, watering and cultivating.

The motors drew up in the ample farm-yard, their occupants alighted, and gathered in front of the veranda from which the courteous owner addressed the company, pointing out the site, on a somewhat lower level, of the old Woolman house, and giving a brief history of the farm and its various owners. The view, with its meadowland, the winding of Rancocas Creek, here a broad and shallow stream, gave rather the impression of an English scene than of an American one.

Another stretch brought the company to Mount Holly, on the outskirts of which the Woolman house stands. The route lay through the town. The long line of the motor-cars of those who had chosen that mode of conveyance, pointed out the place some time before it was reached. One could not but wonder how John Woolman would have viewed the sight. It is quite certain, we may think, that he who would not ride in a stage-coach because of the heavy loads which were placed upon the horses, and on account of the cruelty with which many of them were treated, would have rejoiced to see that machinery bore the loads and cruelty was wholly eliminated, though doubtless he would at the same time have testified against some of the luxurious limousines of the present day.

The house, which has been pretty fully described in a previous number of *THE BULLETIN* (Vol. 6, pp. 66-70), stands fifteen or twenty feet back from the street which the gable end faces. The entrance on the right hand is modest, and indeed the whole house is small. So large was the number of visitors that it was difficult to get a satisfactory view of the rooms. The great fireplace, discovered and opened since the purchase, is perhaps the most interesting object. Large enough almost to sit in, with its original swinging crane, it brought to view old conditions of living more than anything else. A number of contemporary cooking utensils and kitchen tools have been collected, and add to the interest. The furniture which has been gathered together is, much of it, old-time, and all is appropriate and attractive. There is, however, room for more, especially that which is of genuine antique make.

Recently as the association has come into possession, the grounds, comprising nearly two acres, were in excellent order, cottage flowers were blooming in the garden, and also early vegetables, already promising good returns.

The whole establishment is what John Woolman might have been expected to provide for his daughter—simple, comfortable, useful. Though there is at present no evidence to show that he ever lived in the house himself, it is not at all unlikely that he may have spent some time there before he sailed for England in 1772.

It had been expected to have afternoon tea and hold the meeting on the grounds, but owing to the threatening weather, both were held in Mount Holly Meeting-house, a large quaint old structure, which was generously offered for that purpose by the members of that Meeting.²

An audience of about three hundred gathered. Davis H. Forsythe, president of Friends' Historical Society, presided, and gave a brief opening address; Amelia M. Gunnere, through whose earnest efforts the property was secured, gave an account of "Woolman's Journal," and also a statement of the way in which the property is held, and of the hopes entertained for the future. Hannah P. Morris read Whittier's poem, "To———", with a

²This house belongs to the Race Street Friends.

Copy of Woolman's Journal," and Max I. Reich gave a thoughtful and suggestive address on "John Woolman's Message To-day."³

At the conclusion of the meeting, lunch baskets were produced, and, supplemented by coffee with milk and cream from the Woolman farm, ice-cream and cake, all furnished by the Mount Holly Friends, an excellent meal followed. When this was over, those who had come by rail, took the special train for Camden at 7.30 p. m., after an unusually pleasant afternoon. A. C. T.

CHARLES F. COFFIN, 1823-1916.

In the death of Charles F. Coffin, of Chicago, Eighth month 9th, 1916, in his ninety-fourth year, the BULLETIN loses one of its warm supporters and frequent contributors.

Charles Fisher Coffin, the son of Elijah and Naomi (Hiatt) Coffin, was born in 1823 in Guilford County, North Carolina. He was taken while an infant to Indiana, when his parents emigrated from North Carolina. His father became one of the most prominent Friends in Indiana, and was Clerk of Indiana Yearly Meeting from 1827 to 1858, when he was succeeded by his son Charles, the subject of this sketch, who held the office until 1884. Thus, father and son held the position fifty-eight years consecutively, a unique record in Quaker history.

The Coffin family moved to Richmond, Indiana, in 1834, which continued to be the residence of Charles F. Coffin until 1884, when he removed to Chicago. His business was that of a banker, and he used to say that he had occupied every position in a bank from that of office boy to that of president.

He was perhaps even more active in the Society than his father had been, and his influence was proportionately great. For many years no important committee in his particular meeting or Monthly or Quarterly, or Yearly Meeting was considered complete unless he was included. Of all general conferences, committees and delegations he was sure to be a member. His excellent judgment and power of clear statement made him invaluable. He was an admirable presiding officer, and was often called upon

to perform this service, which he did with dignity and fairness. This is not the place to speak of his religious work, or the services which he rendered to his town and State. Neither can his private and home life be treated of. Except that he became somewhat deaf in later years, he retained all his faculties until the end, and he never lost his interest in current events. Those who heard him speak in the ministry in his ninety-third year, wondered at the clearness of thought, the logical order of his words, and the carrying power of his voice.

He was tall, well-formed, courteous in his bearing, and had a fine-looking countenance with a winning smile, and charm of manner.

WILLIAM PENN'S PRAYER FOR PHILADELPHIA.

The bronze tablet,¹ containing the prayer of William Penn for Philadelphia, after long delay is now in a fair way to be completed, and in about six weeks the contractors promise to have it in place in its new location. This will be in a recess on the east wall of the passage through the City Hall, looking north, up Broad Street, immediately within the archway.

The design has been drawn by the Acting City Architect, Louis E. Marié, and has been passed by the Art Jury, so there will be no more tantalizing delays and objections. This tablet will be well lighted by day and night, and conforms to the high arched recess in which it will find place.

It is due to the earnest efforts of Stanley R. Yarnall and Walter Brinton that a new start was made and this second design—an undoubted improvement upon the first—has successfully passed the Art Jury. The order for casting the tablet has been given. When the work has been completed and the tablet is in place, a facsimile will be given in *THE BULLETIN*.

AMELIA M. GUMMERE,

Chairman of Tablet Committee.

¹An account of the tablet was given in *THE BULLETIN* vol. vi. pages 85-86, with a supplementing note saying that the City Art Jury had declined for unknown reasons to approve either the tablet or the place suggested. After two years the project is to be carried out.—Editor.

BOOKS OF INTEREST TO FRIENDS.

Memorandum written by William Rotch in the Eightieth Year of his Age. Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1916, 8¼x5 in., pp. xiii, 89. Illustrated. \$3.50. Edition limited to four hundred and fifty copies.

Readers of THE BULLETIN will, doubtless, recall a paper on "William Rotch and the Neutrality of Nantucket during the Revolutionary War," by Lydia S. Hinchman (vol. I, No. 2, pp. 49-55). This little volume gives the story in the words of the chief actor. It has remained since 1814 in manuscript. It now appears in handsome form, the work of the Riverside Press. The incident is one that is little known. Nantucketers were in a difficult position during the Revolution. They were exposed to attacks from the British both on themselves and their ships—their chief source of supply; the Americans were unable to defend them; and, meantime, most of the islanders were men of peace. How these difficulties were met is here related with a certain quaintness of expression that is very attractive. The cost of the volume will restrict the number of readers. The illustrations add much to the interest. One typographical error has been noticed. On page 34, line 12, *Provincial* should be *Provisional*. It is obviously an error of the copyist.

The Annual Monitor for 1916. . . . John Bellows, Eastgate, Gloucester, 1915. 5½x3½ in., pp. x, 206, 2s.

This small Annual came to hand too late to be noticed in our last number. The reader must be struck by the character of the brief "Memoirs" which it contains. It is often said that men and women of the present are not equal to those of the past, but these brief sketches show how untrue such statements are. To their contemporaries, Francis Arnold Wright, Joshua Rowntree, Lucy Harrison, Richard Westlake, Ellen Clare Pearson and others were what worthies of a previous day were to their generation.

The editor of the volume remarks, "It is unlikely that it has fallen to the lot of any previous editor of this Annual to record the names of members of our Society who have lost their lives in the militant ranks of our country's forces. Three such appear at this time. . . . Added to these are two Quaker victims of the German submarines. . . . Two lamented deaths have taken place of young men in the Friends' Ambulance Unit." One of those "killed in action at the Dardanelles" was John Barlow Emmott, a grandson of Joseph Bevan Braithwaite; Annie Neave, aged 74, was lost on the "Arabic," and J. Foster Stackhouse, aged 41, was lost on the "Lusitania."

This one hundred and fourth issue of this Annual deserves thoughtful attention.

Friends Beyond Seas. By Henry T. Hodgkin, M.A., M.B. Secretary of the Friends' Foreign Mission Association, and sometime Missionary in Chengtu, West China. London, Headley Brothers, 1916. 7½x5 in., pp. 256, 3s.6d. Illustrated.

This is a brief history of the missionary work of Friends from the beginning of the Society.

No one could be better equipped in every way for his task than the author of this book. Enthusiastic in his subject, a successful worker himself in the field, highly educated, and with every facility for ascertaining facts. The story is a deeply interesting one, and reveals an astonishing amount of faith, earnestness, triumph over great obstacles, Christian love and sympathy. Two chapters deserve especial attention—chapter 7 on "Progress at Home," and chapter 8, "The Society of Friends and Foreign Missions." American Friends will, doubtless, be somewhat disappointed to find very scanty accounts of Mission work by Friends in America. The author speaking of this writes, "Mission work by American Friends has also found a very small place. Its full treatment would require another volume," (Preface). The Missionary activity of the early Friends is also very briefly treated as was possibly unavoidable.

The Missionary Spirit and the Present Opportunity. By Henry T. Hodgkin, M.A., M.B. Secretary of the Friends' Foreign Mission Association, sometime Missionary in West China. . . . Published for the Woodbrooke Extension Committee by Headley Brothers, London, 1916. 7¼x5 in., pp. 104, 1s. Swarthmore Lecture.

This, the ninth "Swarthmore Lecture," well sustains the high character of the series. It is a thoughtful study of what constitutes the "Missionary Spirit." The psychological basis of this "Spirit," the author says, consists of (a) Loyalty, (b) Intensity of Conviction, (c) Consciousness of a fresh Discovery—the Child Spirit, and correlated to these, Good-will towards others. This theme is carefully developed, and then the author takes up briefly the "relation of Friends to the present opportunity." This is specially seen in relation to their position on War, Christian Living, and the Inward Light. The Missionary Spirit, however, and the present opportunity belong to no one section of the Church. What the world needs is a "rebirth of Christianity."

There are many passages which it would be a pleasure to quote were there space to do so. Here is one: "The maintenance of the true Christian missionary spirit demands an expansion on the intellectual side. . . . Enthusiasm without education must lead, sooner or later, to fanaticism or error. . . . By thinking of the soul as reaching maturity in one sudden moment of illumination, while the mind, we suppose, must climb laboriously to the mount of vision, we have created an atmosphere

that ultimately destroys the missionary spirit. The fault lies in thinking not too much of the development of the mind, but too little of that of the soul," pp. 58, 59. The book can be cordially recommended.

Joshua Rowntree. By S. E. Robson, with a foreword by J. Rendel Harris, M.A., D.Litt. London, George Allen & Unwin, Ltd. Ruskin House. 7¼x5 in. Pp. 190. Illustrated.

This work is an appreciation rather than a biography. Little except what is absolutely necessary is told of his home life, but the attention is concentrated on his public and semi-public career. It is probably well, for a small book will win far more readers.

Joshua Rowntree was a man to be admired, to be trusted, to be loved. How he was regarded by his own towns-folk is shown by way he was called—"Our Joshua," and by an anecdote related by Mrs. Acland—"I remember once, when I was walking from the Valley on to the South Cliff at Scarborough, I came upon a little girl in tattered clothes who seemed to have lost her way. 'Please can you tell me where Joseph Rowntree lives?' she said, 'I want him'."

All who knew Joshua Rowntree personally will read this book with deep interest. It gives a graphic picture of him. He was born in 1844 and died in 1915. His seventy years of life were full of activity. From early manhood to the close of life, there was scarcely a good cause which he did not in some way help. In speaking of the early Friends in his Swarthmore Lecture (1913) he says, "To the early Friends all life, religious and civil, domestic and ecclesiastical, was, as our newest philosophies would have it to be, *one life*." This statement he carried out to the full in his own life. Whether member of the School Board of Scarborough, his native city and place of residence, of the Town Council, Mayor, one of the Harbor Commissioners, a post he held for twenty-eight years, a Justice of the Peace, a Member of Parliament, or as a Friend, it was all the same life based upon the same principles and lived out under the same guidance. He was essentially "one who loved his fellowmen," and hence a true reformer. His special interests were Adult School work, Temperance, Peace, Anti-Opium traffic, Education and his own Religious Society. It is impossible to go into details, they must be sought in the book.

He and his wife were the first wardens of Woodbrooke, and were greatly instrumental in carrying out the ideal of the real founder, John Wilhelm Rowntree. Joshua Rowntree was for some time the editor of the *London Friend*; he edited the two volumes of the *Essays and Papers of John Wilhelm Rowntree*; and wrote a number of tracts; his most elaborate work was, "The Imperial Drug Trade," London, 1905. 3rd edition, 1908. This is the standard work on the opium traffic. There is little doubt that its judicial statement of incontrovertible facts helped to

hasten the end of the opium trade with China, which event took place in 1913. He was an omnivorous reader, no mean artist in water-colors, and was devoted to the open air and out of door life. Only one quotation can be given. "I am driven to the conclusion that one cannot beat the devil with his own weapons, or bring about good by visiting any soul with evil," p. 132.

Proceedings and Addresses of the International Conference of Men Friends, Richmond, Indiana, October 20-22, 1915. Nicholson Printing and Mfg. Co., Richmond, Ind. 9x6 in. 160 pp. \$1.00.

This is a stenographic report, with some papers which were read. It was a representative gathering of American Friends, with but two visitors from England so far as appears. It could hardly, therefore, be called "international" though it was intended to be. The great function of such gatherings is to stimulate to greater earnestness and activity, and, doubtless, such was the effect of this conference. Two of the speakers were not Friends.

Archaeology and the Bible. By George A. Barton, Ph.D., LL.D. Professor of Biblical Literature and Semitic Languages in Bryn Mawr College; sometime Director of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem. . . . Philadelphia, American Sunday School Union, 1916. 8½x6 in. Pp. xiv, 461; 114 pp. of Plates. \$2.00 net. "Green Fund Book, No. 17."

This is a weighty book, *avoidsupois*, not in contents. It may be said at once that it is a great credit to American scholarship and an honor to the denomination to which the author belongs. It consists of three parts: 1. "The Bible Lands, Their Exploration, and the Resultant Light on the Bible and History," 230 pages; 2. "Translations of Ancient Documents which Confirm or Illuminate the Bible," 213 pages; 3. Plates, 114 pages. The book is also furnished with an analytical Table of Contents, a full Index, and an Index of Scripture Passages. There are, therefore, ample facilities for quick consultation. Indeed no pains seem to have been spared to make the book a useful tool for Biblical students and readers. In the Introduction, pp. 13, 14, the author gives some suggestive hints as to the way in which the book can be used to the best advantage.

The author wisely states exactly in what sense the word "Archaeology" is used, taking the definition given in the Century Dictionary. The volume sheds a flood of light on the Bible, and thereby many statements which have been obscure are made clear. The wealth of pictorial illustration is also of great assistance. The volume is non-controversial and non-doctrinal. The attitude of the author is shown by such passages as these, "Not the least service that archaeology has rendered

has been the presentation of a new background against which the inspiration of the Biblical writers stands out in striking vividness. . . . Babylonians and Egyptians pour out their hearts in psalms with something of the same fervor and pathos as the Hebrews, but no such vital conception of God and his oneness gives shape to their faith and brings the longed-for strength to the spirit. . . . Archaeology thus reinforces to the modern man with unmistakable emphasis the ancient words, "Men spake from God, being moved by the Holy Spirit," (Preface pp. iv, v.).

It is enough to say that nowhere else can be found, in so small a compass, or as clearly and reverently stated and illustrated, the results of modern exploration and scholarship as affecting the Bible. The fact that the book is one of the "Green Fund Books" has enabled the cost to be placed at a figure within the reach of all.

NOTES AND QUERIES

THE WARDER SCHOOL AT AMSTERDAM.—Under the heading, "A Conscientious Quaker" a brief account of the Warder School, a history of which appeared in the last number of THE BULLETIN, is given in Littell's Living Age, 1872, vol. 112, page 116. The account, though not quite accurate in details, is very appreciative. Credit for the article is given to "Leisure Hours," an English periodical.

"QUAKER STRONGHOLDS."—A translation into Esperanto, the artificial or manufactured language which its promoters hope will gain universal usage, has been made of Caroline E. Stephen's well-known essay, "Quaker Strongholds." The title page reads:—Caroline Stephen. Fundamentoj de la Kvakerismo—Esperantigita de Montagu C. Butler, el la kvara eldono de la Angla originalo. Por la Tradukinto Eldonis The British Esperanto Association (Incorporated). London. 17 Hart Street, W. C., 1916. 12 mo. pp. xviii, 153, Price 1s.9d. Prezo: Sm. 0.875.

THORNTON'S ALMANAC.—There lies before me "An Almanack for the year of our Lord, 1790, by Elisha Thornton, of Smithfield . . . Newport [Rhode Island.] Printed by Peter Edes, and sold wholesale and retail at his of-

fice in Thames Street." 7x4 in. 28 pp.

This almanac is in Friendly style. Can any one give information as to how many issues appeared? Elisha Thornton was a schoolmaster and an influential Friend of New England Yearly Meeting. The book is not noticed by Joseph Smith.

A LETTER OF JOHN G. WHITTIER,
1869.

Amesbury 8 Mo. 1869.

My dear Friend:—

I was very glad to receive thy letter, and for the opportunity of reciprocating its kind remembrance of our brief acquaintance.

The pressure of many cares and duties, illness, and, I may also confess, a deep sense of my own deficiencies as contrasted not alone with the perfect purity of the Great Exemplar, but with such a devoted follower of Him as John Woolman, have deterred me from the task to which thy letter invites.

Yet it is often on my mind, and if my life is spared awhile longer I may do something of the kind. I have now before me an unpublished work upon John Woolman by Dora Greenwell of England, author of the "Patience of Hope," which I may yet find a publisher for.

For myself I cannot follow the "new lights" of our day. What-

ever my shortcomings may be, I believe in the distinctive doctrine of Quakerism—the indwelling Spirit—the Christ *within*—the simple faith of such men as Woolman and other old worthies; unilluminated by *that* the letter is indeed dead and dark.

I am very truly thy friend

JOHN G. WHITTIER

Postmarked, Amesbury, Mass.
Aug. 17. To Charles Yarnall, of Philadelphia.

LETTER OF JOHN ARCHDALE, 1698/9.

A LETTER TO THE SPEAKER OF THE
HOUSE OF COMMONS, 1698/9.

BY JOHN ARCHDALE.

Sir: Upon the call of the House It will appear that I am Chosen & Returned to serve in parliamt for ye Burrough of Chipping Wycombe in ye County of Bucks. And Therefore I request of thee to acquaint the Hon^{ble} House of Commons the reason I have not as yet appeared to execute that Trust reposed in me, which is That I was under an apprehension when I was Elected that my Declaration &c, might in this Case as in others where the Law requires an Oath [not?] be accepted. I am therefore ready to Execute my Trust If the House thinks fitt to admit of me thereupon, which I doo humbly Submitt to their Wisdom & Justice, And shall acquiesse with what they will

be pleased to determine therein. This being all at pr'sent, I remain
thy reall & oblidged

Friend

JOHN ARCHDALE

London Jan 9th 169 $\frac{8}{9}$

[Copied from the original by
W^m Allen, 9. 26, 1874].

BRITISH RELIEF SENT TO AMERICAN FRIENDS, 1789.—It may be worth while drawing attention to a list of recipients of relief sent from England to Philadelphia, 1789 etc., which is in manuscript in volume I of "Letters to and from Philadelphia." Manuscript in the Reference Library at Devonshire House, London.

The sheet is headed "An Account of Money disposed of by the Committee of the Meeting for Sufferings in Philadelphia out of the benevolent donation of Friends in England—5 month 2, 1789 to—.

Here is a specimen entry: "To R. P. whose home at Mount Holly in New Jersey was broke open by some soldiers of the British Army and plundered of nearly all the portable property, working tools and finished wares, with a considerable stock of provisions, the feather bed being ripped up and the feathers thrown away: he also lost five valuable indented [indentured] servants. Said R. with his wife and eight children were left with scarcely anything but the clothes they had on, and obliged to flee and shelter

themselves in the neighboring country, which with the loss of other property and subsequent inconveniences has reduced them to very necessitous circumstances. £50."

Total amount on one sheet £1079.10.0, and on another sheet £1573.15.0. Total entries 70. Amounts vary from £10. to £100.

NORMAN PENNEY.

CHANGES IN THE DISCIPLINE OF PHILADELPHIA YEARLY MEETING, 1916.—At the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in Third month, 1916, changes in the Discipline were made regarding the "Rights of Children," "Overseers," "Marriage Rules," and "Queries." The last two were important. The new "Marriage Rules" allow marriage between a member and non-member, and between non-members, provided the steps required of members are observed. All marriages must be in accordance with State laws. The Third Query heretofore in use was cancelled, and the following substituted: "Do you uphold and cherish a waiting, spiritual worship, and a free Gospel Ministry dependent upon the Head of the Church, and exercised in the fresh life and power of the Holy Spirit?"

NEW YORK INDIANS IN 1795.—A Friend has given to Friends' Historical Society a manuscript entitled "Some Account of a Visit to the Indians Situated on the Frontiers of the State of New

York, by George Embree, John Murray, Jnr., and Thomas Eddy, under an appointment from the Meeting of Sufferings, and the Committee of the Yearly Meeting of New York on Indian Affairs, 1795." The manuscript consists of sixty-two beautifully written quarto pages, bound in boards. It consists chiefly of addresses to, and by the Indians, and throws much light on the condition of those tribes and remnants of tribes.

OLD LETTERS.—The "Pennsylvania Magazine for History and Biography" for July, 1916, contains three interesting letters: One from Thomas Callowhill to his daughter Hannah (Callowhill) Penn, wife of William Penn, dated 4 day of the 9 mo. [November] 1701. It refers to the possible "sudden return" of William Penn and his family to England.

The two other letters are from John Nicholls to Phineas Pemberton; one dated "ye 3th of ye 1st mo. 1688-9" [March] describes the effect of the landing of William of Orange at Torbay, 1688, and the possible course of the new government. The new Parliament "will rather Repeal then make Laws for persicution." The other letter relates to the payment and collection of bills and bonds. Pp. 375-377.

"SNOWBOUND."—"Snowbound" was the greatest of the "new books" of fifty years ago. It is admittedly the most artistic, most

sustained, most important of Whittier's work, but is it not even more? Is there not wrapped in its lines enough to write 1866 high in American literary history? Two of our critics who speak with large authority would seem to be of such opinion—Edmund Clarence Steadman and George Edward Woodberry, the latter remarking that it takes rank with "The Cotter's Saturday Night" and "The Deserted Village:"

It is the New England home, entire, with its characteristic scene, its incidents of household life, its Christian virtues. Perhaps many of us look back to it as Horace did to the Sabine farm; but there are more who can still remember it as a reality, and to them this winter idyl is the poetry of their own lives. It is, in a peculiar sense, the one poem of New England . . . so completely indigenous that the soil has fairly created it, so genuine as to be better than history. It is by virtue of this poem that Whittier must be most highly rated, be-

cause he is here most impersonal, and has succeeded in expressing the common life with most directness.

WARWICK JAMES PRICE.

N. Y. Evening Post, September 30, 1916.

HISTORY OF THE SHAWNEE INDIANS.—In the Journal of David E. Knowles, concluded in this number of THE BULLETIN, mention is made of Henry Harvey, "Superintendent of Friends' Establishment in the Shawnee Nation" (see page 48 *ante*). This Friend after a number of years in the position referred to published a "History of the Shawnee Indians from the year 1681 to 1854 Inclusive" (Cincinnati, Ephraim Morgan & Sons, 1855). This volume of 316 pages, though rather discursive, is an honest and praiseworthy effort to state the truth by one who was familiar with his subject from the side of the Indian. It is a valuable work, but is seldom to be met with.

• WILLIAM • PENNS • PRAYER • FOR •
• PHILADELPHIA • 1684 •

• • • AND THOU PHILADELPHIA THE VIRGIN SETTLE-
MENT OF THIS PROVINCE NAMED BEFORE THOU WERT
BORN WHAT LOVE WHAT CARE WHAT SERVICE AND
WHAT TRAVAIL HAVE THERE BEEN TO BRING THEE
FORTH AND PRESERVE THEE FROM SUCH AS
WOULD ABUSE AND DEFILE THEE. O THAT THOU
MAYEST BE KEPT FROM THE EVIL THAT WOULD
OVERWHELM THEE THAT FAITHFUL TO THE GOD
OF THY MERCIES IN THE LIFE OF RIGHTEOUSNESS
THOU MAYEST BE PRESERVED TO THE END.
MY SOUL PRAYS TO GOD FOR THEE THAT THOU
MAYEST STAND IN THE DAY OF TRIAL THAT THY
CHILDREN MAY BE BLEST OF THE LORD AND THY
PEOPLE SAVED BY HIS POWER • • • •

BRONZE TABLET, PLACED BY FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PHILA-
DELPHIA, INSIDE NORTH ARCH, CITY HALL, PHILADELPHIA,
TWELFTH MONTH 30TH, 1916.

Bulletin of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia

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NOTE.—The editor does not hold himself responsible for any statement made in contributed articles.

All communications for the BULLETIN should be addressed to Allen C. Thomas, Haverford, Pa.

All dues and subscriptions should be paid to Mary S. Allen, Secretary-Treasurer, 24 West Street, Media, Pa.

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THREE NOTABLE EVENTS OF 1917.

Though the BULLETIN, as its full name implies, is intended to be devoted chiefly to records of the past, it seems altogether proper to record three events of 1917 which are likely to be followed by far-reaching results.

The first of these is the action of the Congress of the United States, at the request of President Wilson, in declaring that "the state of war . . . which has thus been thrust upon the United States [by the German Government] is hereby formally declared." The resolution, passed by the Senate, Fourth month 5th, was passed by the House of Representatives the next day (6th), and signed on the afternoon of the same day by President Wilson, thus officially beginning the war with Germany Fourth month 6th, 1917. It is not fitting, under present circumstances, to say more than to record this momentous action, and to express the earnest desire, which will be shared in by every member of the Friends' Historical Society, that the conflict may be brief, with a minimum of loss of life and of suffering.¹

The second event is the great revolution in Russia, Third month 11th to 15th, 1917, overthrowing the autocratic government of the Tsar, giving freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from racial restrictions, and promising some kind of representative government to Russia; also practical autonomy to Finland and Poland. It is too soon yet to speak decidedly of the full success of the promised reforms, but there seems no reason to doubt the overthrow of autocratic rule in Russia for the future. This revolution is the severest blow autocratic rule has received

¹ It seems strange that war should have been declared by the United States on "Good Friday," the day set apart by the majority of Christians to commemorate the self-sacrifice for the sake of mankind by the Founder of Christianity. All the great nations the world over are now at war. In Europe, only Spain, Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Switzerland are neutral, scarcely at peace. In Asia, China alone is nominally at peace; in the western world only the Central American States and South America still hold aloof, though Brazil seems to be on the verge of war. And this in the twentieth century of the Christian era!

for a century, and would seem to be the beginning of the end of such rule in the world. Already the German Emperor promises great reforms "after the war."

The third event, not so momentous, not so far-reaching, or so spectacular as the others, is the advent of a woman on the floor of the National House of Representatives at Washington. The act of the people of Montana in choosing Jeannette Rankin to be one of their Representatives is a logical result of extending the suffrage to women. The experiment will be watched with deep interest, but with the rapid increase in granting the suffrage to women in the United States, and the conversion of the leaders of both parties in Great Britain to woman suffrage, it is likely that in another Congress several women will be found. Certainly the beginning of a movement fraught with great possibilities for good deserves mention.

DONATIONS OF ENGLISH FRIENDS, 1789-90.

An Account of money disposed of by the Committee of the Meeting for Sufferings in Philadelphia, out of the benevolent donation of Friends in England, so far as the same has yet been distributed. From 5th mo 2^d 1789 to 11 mo 18th 1790.

Given to L. R. who hath been reduced to straitened circumstances in the course of the late troubles.	} £20
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To B. M. of Abington in Pennsylvania who suffered much loss & damage by the two contending armies in the time of the late commotion & is now reduc'd to straitned circumstances	} 20
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To J. L. of Abington who sustain'd great loss & damage by the British & American Armies & Militia; the chief part of his Stock, Grain & Houshold goods being taken from him in the course of two or three months, himself & one Son imprisoned several weeks, & frequent seizures made of his property for Militia fines where by he is reduced to straitned circumstances & is also advanc'd in years	} 50
--	------

To J. C. of Abington, a young man who had just been married when he was plundered of nearly all his property by the contending Armies, & left in a very distressed situation } 30

To the Widow & Children of M. R—— In the time of the late troubles, this family who lived at a frontier settlement in Pennsylv^a. was broken up, nearly the whole of their moveable property taken away, and the Master of the family unjustly imprisoned a long time; the Wife and Children were obliged to remove into an interior settlement where they were supported by their friends. M. being since deceas'd the Widow and Children became objects of benevolent care— } 50

To J. H. who with his family in the year 1779 was driven by the Indians from their habitation in Northampton County Pennsylv^a. by which means he lost most of his moveable property and could not for several years with safety return to his place of abode; being much reduced in his circumstances. } 37 10

To S. P. & family of Northampton County alike circumstanced as the above case; having six small children when driven by the Indians from their habitation, whereby they were much reduced, and remain in a distressed condition for want of the necessaries of life. } 37 10

To W. P. late of York County Pennsylv^a. who sustained heavy losses in the time of the War & is reduc'd to a low indigent state } 15

To B. C. of who was reduced to straitened circumstances by means of the late War. } 50

To R. P. whose house at Mountholly in New Jersey was broke open by some Soldiers of the British Army, and plundered of nearly all the portable property, working tools, & finish'd Wares, with a considerable stock of provisions, the feather beds being ripp'd up & the feathers thrown away; he also lost five valuable Indented servants. said R. with his wife and eight children were left with scarcely anything but the clothes they had on, and obliged to flee & shelter themselves in the neighbouring country; which with the loss of other property and subsequent inconveniences has reduced them to very neccessitous circumstances. } 50

To In the year 1778 when the British Army was in Philad^a. his Shop was broke open and robbed of a variety of valuable goods, being his principal dependance for supporting his family. A concern he held with his Brother in a Store in New Jersey was closed by receiving his share thereof in the old paper Currency formerly passing in these Governments but now of no value, of which he has on hand many hundred pounds. Being thus stripp'd of his property, added to the heavy loss sustained by the said currency he has for many years struggled under great difficulties & continues to be much pinched in his circumstances. } 100

To T. P. of Berks County Pennsylv^a. who was greatly stripp'd and impoverish'd thro' the ravages & spoiling of Goods arising from demands occasioned by the War & confusions; and having a Wife & eleven children it was with much difficulty he could raise sustenance for them, or procure bed-clothes to cover them in the cold Winter season. } 50

To J. E. of New Jersey who has a Wife & eleven children seven of which are small. In the course of the late War he was for several years frequently much stripp'd of his property by the contending Armies & Militia. When his cattle were all taken from him, he borrowed money & purchased more, which were also soon taken away. He is an industrious valuable friend, but by many losses & pillages is reduced to very difficult & straitened circumstances. } 75

To Almost the whole of whose property amounting to several hundred pounds, was lost thro' the confusions & troubles which took place in the time of the late War; w^{ch} circumstance has so reduced the means she relied on for subsistence as to render her case difficult & pinching. } 100

To H. W. of New Jersey who sustained such damage in his property during the late War, as to be renderd scarcely capable of affording to his valuable Wife and numerous offspring a comfortable subsistence } 22

To The late troubles & commotions having tended to deprive him of that support which he had before relied on for the maintenance of his family, he is reduced to necessitous & pinching circumstances } 100

To T. M. who sustained losses of his property by the contending Armies and persons engaged in promoting the War, to a very considerable amount; and from easy circumstances became reduced to a state of indigence } 50

To A. S. widow of Shrewsbury New Jersey, about 76 years of Age. Her Sons having joined the British army after the death of their father, occasioned heavy losses to their mother the principal part of her stock, Cattle & provisions being taken from her; & lastly her plantation confiscated & sold; so that from a state of affluence she was reduced to one truly necessitous with a poor unhappy Daughter unable to support herself for want of common understanding. } 30

To A. E. of Shrewsbury, widow; whose late husband, (not in unity with friends) in the early part of the late war, went over to the British Army in New York, and being afterwards taken near his own house, was executed as a spy, tho' he was thought by many to be innocent of what was laid to his charge. The Widow was left with two Children quite destitute and has since been assisted by her Relations in the support of herself & family } 15

To E. F. of Shrewsbury who was grievously stript during the war, the whole of his Stock taken away, & he so reduced as to stand in real need of assistance. Friends of Shrewsbury in their acco^t of his sufferings, add, "He is a friend in good esteem, & we believe has been a faithful testimony bearer in his many trials } 15

To R. L. of Shrewsbury who suffered much during the War by fines & by a set of People who took from him without colour of Law under pretence of retaliation; he was also pillaged by another Banditti called Wood-Robbers. He being in distressed circumstances and in want of assistance to procure the necessaries of life; Friends of Shrewsbury afforded him some relief, yet his present difficulties are such as require further aid. } 25

To T. B. of Lancaster County Pennsylv^a. a well approved minister, hath a Wife & several Children, but in low circumstances, having been a considerable sufferer by means of the War. } 20

To Y. L. of Chester County Penns^a. who was so reduced by means of the war, as to have neither horse nor cow left, & not able to buy, which still remains to be the case, that was it not for the kindness of sympathizing friends, himself & family would have suffered for want several years past and yet they are often closely tried being unwilling to apply to some friends who have already done much for them This friend has some bodily infirmities which renders him unable to labour much & his Wife has many years been so much afflicted with pain, that it's very difficult for her to help herself yet strives hard to do what she can with her needle and otherways, altho' unfit for business Some of their children are young, and others so circumstanced that they cannot render much assistance to their parents. } 50

To T. D. of Northampton County Penns^a. who is ancient & very low in the world, having sustained much loss of his property by the ravages & depredations of the American Army. } 37 10

To L. J. an ancient Widow at Abington in Penns^a who suffered much in her property by the ravages of the British Army when in that neighbourhood and for many years has had a heavy charge with a Daughter who is deprived of her reason, & requires much of her care & attention. } 30

[Endorsed—

£1079 10

Abstract from the Acco: of the distribution of the Charitable Donation of Friends in Grt. Britain

Philad. 11 mo.: 30th 1790]

[NOTE.—This account has been kindly furnished by Norman Penney, of London.—EDITOR.]

SAMUEL AND MARY BOWNE, OF FLUSHING, AND
THEIR FRIENDS.¹

"Samuel Bowne (1667-1745), the sixth child [and second son] of John and Hannah (Pheakes) Bowne, of Flushing, New York, was born in 1667. Of his early life we know nothing but what may be inferred from the character of his parents. He became a minister in the religious Society of Friends, and travelled as companion to Thomas Chalkley, Samuel Bownas² and others in the service of Truth."

Samuel Bowne married Mary Becket on 4th of 8th month, 1691, being then in his twenty-fourth year. Mary Becket is described as an English Lady who, it is claimed, crossed the Atlantic in 1682 in company with William Penn.³ This tradition cannot be verified and how and when she came to Pennsylvania must be left at present unsolved.

"She was the daughter of Elinor Percy, of whom family tradition relates that she became from causes which are not mentioned, a ward in Chancery, and that while so situated, she was addressed by a [Captain] Becket, who persuaded her to contract a runaway marriage. In consequence of this act, which by law subjected Becket to severe penalties, he is said to have been obliged to fly the realm, and to have perished in one of the Continental wars." Such is the statement which the old people re-

¹ A sketch of John Bowne, of Flushing (1627-1673), written by the late Charles Yarnall, of Philadelphia, was published in the *BULLETIN*, Vol. II, pp. 44-67. The present paper is compiled and written from letters and notes left by the same Friend, and from other sources.

² "The next day we had a meeting at Oyster Bay. . . . Next day, Samuel Bowne being with us, we went to visit a young woman that was weak in body, but lay in a comfortable frame of mind." "Journal of Thomas Chalkley," London, 1818, p. 231. See also "Life, Travels, etc., of Samuel Bownas," 2d ed., London, 1761, pp. 67, 95, 108, 141.

³ Her name does not appear in the list of passengers as given in H. M. Jenkins' "History of Philadelphia" (Philadelphia, 1895, pp. 78-80); nor is it found in Thompson Westcott's list "History of Philadelphia," *Sunday Dispatch*). The researches of these and other careful students have destroyed a number of traditions.

ported of the father of Mary Becket. Her mother seems to have become a Friend and subsequently married a Haydock, under which name we find her addressing her daughter. "However doubtful some parts of this account may be, that Mary Becket had some pretensions to rank and that there was some unusual circumstance connected with her birth and parentage is pretty certain. She seems to have possessed higher qualities, and to have greatly endeared herself to her friends."

It appears that her residence in this country had been with Phineas Pemberton⁴ at the Falls of the Delaware in Bucks County, Pennsylvania.

The following letter was written in the year and probably soon after the date of the marriage of Samuel and Mary Bowne:

PHINEAS AND PHEBE PEMBERTON TO MARY BOWNE.

21st day of (?) mo. 1691

Dear Mary

That parental love and care which we have had hitherto for thee has taken such deep root and impression upon our minds that we cannot forget thee—but much the contrary, very often have thee in dear remembrance and therefore speak often together concerning thee, as we have been even at this time before the writing hereof. Sometimes we have presentations of an expectation of seeing thee, in or about the house, about thy accustomed business; and often to meet thee in thy usual walks in the garden, or the grove or on the river's bank. But when duly considered it is not so! being only a presentation of what in the mind is desired, as accustomed, and as yet not weaned from, but by degrees may. Sometimes we call thee!—but thou art too far removed to give answer. Thy morning salutations, and constant inquiry of our welfare, ceases. Thy wonted care for our rest and repose fails. The evening farewells are now cut off, and the

⁴ The common ancestor of the Pembertons of Pennsylvania. He and his family came over in the ship *Submission*, 1682.

benefit we have had in enjoying each other and congratulating on enjoying together is now taken away, so that the house and those therein, for the present are in solitariness, or loneliness in want of thee, sometimes a condoling or grieving together. But in this we are satisfied that we believe thy removal was for thy good. The Lord so disposed it, who is the wise disposer of all things, we acknowledge at his hand; and as we stand in faithfulness before him all things will be ordered for our good; and we therein though far remote from any [personal intercourse] shall enjoy [each other's] nearness and dearness as heretofore we have done, though not in that full manner. We can truly say we dearly love thee, our love being to thee as a child, thy love to us having been very engaging and thy deportment very submissive. Wherefore we are and believe we shall have no other cause but still to continue to be, very earnestly concerned for thy good every way. Let us sometimes hear from thee. Here are a few lines enclosed to thee from Abigail, they are of her own writing and inditing, therefore accept them so.⁵

Dear Mary! we know thou art sensible of the reality of our love, as we are of thine beyond what can be characted forth, but as a farewell after thy departure that thou mayst know how things stand with us by reason thereof, have we written these lines and therefore bid thee farewell—farewell who are thy friends in endeared love

PHINEAS }
PHEBE } PEMBERTON.

⁵ Abigail Pemberton, daughter of Phineas and Phebe Pemberton. She was one of the "infant children" on the voyage in 1682, and so was probably not over twelve in 1691. She married Stephen Jenkins in 1704. They settled in Abington Township, and their descendants founded the village of Jenkintown.

That this affection was reciprocated to the full is shown by the following letter :

MARY BOWNE TO PHINEAS PEMBERTON.
(From the Original.)

[Flushing] The 16th of ye [12 ?] mo 1691

Deare and well-beloved freinds Phineas and Pheby Pemberton.

The salutation of indeared [love] is unto you and all your deare children, and deare ffriends. Gorg [?] being here this day tould mee hee intended to go youre way a day or two hence, therefore I was not willing to let slip any opertunity whereby I might let you here of our wellfare the which I know you will be glad to here of as also it would be with comfort and refreshment to us to here often from you our deare freinds and also from others among you, as our deare freind Henry Baker and Thomas Jany [Janney] William Yardley and others to whom my love is with there famalys to William Biles and Jean [his wife], to Edther Cook and wife and John [Cook] and wife and to others that inquire of us. Wee are at present pritty well and I have for the most part been prity well, so hoping you are in the same with all your deare little ones whom I truly love and often think of with much tenderness, yea, you are very deare and near to mee deare freinds.

Please to let mee heare from you, I beg it from you. So I must rest with my and my deare, deare love to you our deare freinds once more who am youre [?] dutyful freind in that which is lasting.

MARY BOWNE.

ffather in law ⁶ desires to have his deare love to you all and intends to see you before it be long. My very deare love to Abegal.

This warm affection and close friendship between the Pembertons and Samuel and Mary Bowne was maintained for years. There is in the possession of the writer a collection of intimate

⁶ John Bowne, of Flushing. It would appear from other letters that the young couple made their home with him.

letters covering the period 1691-1698 all of them showing the closest intimacy. "Let mee heer from you as often as you can, I beg it from you, but I shall come see you as soon as I can for I know I can not stay Long from you," says Mary Bowne (6th of 11 mo. 1691). On "Ye 30th day of 9 mo. 1692," Samuel Bowne writes from New York to excuse his "hast in parting" from Phineas Pemberton, whom he seems to have met somewhere, "in order to goe homeward because of my deare Wife for it [was] leate and ye evening was like to be cold." Another letter dated "Flushing ye 15 day—12 mo. 1693," is addressed to "Phineas & Phebe": "Dear and honourably esteemed friends to you is the salutation of our unfeigned Love though we remain far distent from you as outwardly, yet our harts are truly united unto you, and we often speake together concerning you & the great comfort it would administer to us if our residence was where we might enjoy your company often. Dear friends I shall return to give you a small account of A pleasent companion in whose company we now enjoy, On ye 29th day of 11 month my dear wife was delivered of a son, it being ye first day of the week. . . . Wee call his name Samuell. . . . Our very dear love to you and yours, fourther wee very kindly intreet of you yt your fatherly and Motherly care over us may still continue as hitherto it hath beene wh. indeed hath been as unto Children of your own . . . soe we bid you dearly farewell. all at present from your friends

SAMUEL & MERY BOWNE.

A few weeks later in a very affectionate letter, Mary Bowne writes concerning her child that she is "constraned to bring it up by hand; its prity quiat anights and has been all along." From another letter it would seem they had sought for a foster mother, for Samuel Bowne writes, "Wee can not as yet here of a negrow wentsch to be sold yt is likely."

Samuel and Mary Bowne were contemplating changing their place of residence, and the following letter refers to this possibility, as well as showing the closeness of the tie existing between the families:

MARY BOWNE TO PHINEAS AND PHEBE PEMBERTON.
(From the Original.)

Flushing 27th of the 4th mo [16]93

Honored

freinds P. P. Pemberton my deare Love saluuts you and yours. by these you may know that wee have Receved your letter of information and advice concerning that land at Darby and our coming there to settle, whereupon wee have took it into Consideration, and my husband intends to com within this two or three weeks at the Lest. I do not know but I shall com along with him to see you if I see that I can conveniently Leve my bisinis the which I am prity much out of the way of at present and do not know when I shall be otherwise, soe that I think it will bee better for mee to come then not, tho our stay bee never so short, not that I am any way dissatisfied consarning Removing or Leving this place but much the contrary am Rather willing to in order to persuade [?] and promot the thing as far as I can whereupon my deare husband seems to incline more than ever. My deare freinds I am very glad to consider that we are Like to com nearer to you that wee may partake of your parantall advice and assistance, the which I know that nothing else will be more comfortable that I can think of, then the injoyment of that along with your company, tho I would Rather that it were nearer to you than we are Like to bee, that wee might injoy youre company more frequently for that I prize very much, you know it my deare freinds I think I have bee[n] Long anof [enough] in bondage and am glad to here of good hope of a Redemption out of it that is som comfort to mee. my deare freinds I shall not wait Long But I intend to com over along with my husband, for I have staid allmost as long as I can from thee deare Pheby, its now about a year since I saw thy face, the Lenth of which time maks my heart sad but I think to com and cheer it up agane. my deare freinds my little child grose well. . . . John Adames [?] is the Bearer hereof and hee alsoe thinks its best to com and see the place before a Conclusion. Soe I must take leve and bid farewell for a little while. I am your Child

M. BOWNE.

My deare Love to all yours, to deare Abegale farewell at present M B.

My father Bowne was maryed yesterday to his yong Bride.⁷

This marriage was evidently a great trial to Samuel and Mary Bowne, as will appear from their letters, which, however, must be left to another number.

ALLEN C. THOMAS.

WILLIAM PENN, MACAULAY, AND "PUNCH."

In Macaulay's Diary under date of February 5, 1859, the following passage occurs:

"Then the Quakers, five in number. Never was there such a rout. They had absolutely nothing to say. Every charge against Penn came out as clear as any case at the Old Bailey. They had nothing to urge but what was true enough; that he looked worse in my 'History' than he would have looked on a general survey of his whole life. But that is not my fault. I wrote the history of four years during which he was exposed to great temptations; during which he was the favorite of a bad king, and an active solicitor in a most corrupt court. His character was injured by his associations. Ten years before, or ten years later, he would have made a much better figure. But was I to begin my book ten years earlier or ten years later for William Penn's sake? The Quakers were extremely civil. So was I. They complimented me on my courtesy and candor." Trevelyan's *Life of Macaulay* (American edition), Vol. 2, p. 220.

Soon after the interview thus described, there appeared in *Punch*,¹ the London comic weekly, a caricature, by John Leech, of the scene. (See reproduction.) The drawing is very cleverly done and deserves close inspection. After the fashion of some of

⁷ This "yong Bride," his third wife, was Mary Cock. John Bowne died two years after the marriage, 10th Month [December] 20th, 1695, being about sixty-eight years of age.

¹ *Punch*, February 17, 1849, Vol. 16, p. 72.

the old masters, Leech combines three scenes in the same picture; first, the Friends composing the committee on their way to visit the historian; second, the interview itself; third, the return home of the committee.

The Friends are represented as driving to the residence of Macaulay in a "four-wheeler" cab. The faces of the men are smiling and confident, and a little dog runs joyously beside the vehicle. In the central division of the cut, Macaulay, with a determined countenance, is represented in his library, vanquishing his foes with a quill. The attitudes of the Friends, which are anything but dignified, indicate a complete rout. In the third division, the Friends are shown as driving off with despondent faces and attitudes, while the little dog is the picture of canine despondency. Leech has six or seven Friends, but Macaulay is right in saying five.

Leech's caricature is followed by twelve doggerel stanzas summing up the historian's charges and describing the "rout," and the return home. The following are specimens:

" Macaulay wrote a book,
 In which if once you look,
 You're fast as with a hook, for volumes two, two, two;
 And this book shows William Penn
 Behaving now and then
 Like something 'twixt a donkey, and a 'do,' 'do,' 'do.'

" So the Friends, extremely wroth
 At this stain upon their cloth—
 For Macaulay pledged his troth to the fact, fact, fact,
 They filled a Clarence cab
 With valiant men in drab,
 And off to the Albany packed, packed, packed.

" Then their batteries they let fly,
 But Macaulay in reply,
 At their heads he did shy such a hail, hail, hail;
 From memory and from note,
 Of reading and of rote,
 There was naught he did not quote, fresh or stale, stale, stale.



"PEN VERSUS PENN: OR, THE QUAKERS NON-PLUSSÉD."

"Not a single 'thee' or 'thou'
 Could they put in, I vow,
 But he countered, where and how they scarce knew, knew, knew;
 Till faint and flabbergast,
 They backed—backed—and at last
 Unquakerishly fast down stairs they flew, flew, flew!

"And, sad as their own drab,
 Mounted ruefully their cab,
 By the gift of the gab overborne, borne, borne;
 And, all Piccadilly thro',
 In their faces plain to view,
 Was 'Lo! we went for wool and came back shorn, shorn, shorn.'"

Such is Macaulay's account and such the caricature and its accompanying verses. Neither is a true statement of the facts.

The writer of the present paper is able to give an account of the other side—that of the Friends—from notes, taken down at the time, of a conversation in 1885 with the last surviving member of the little group who visited the historian.

First, as to the caricature. The committee did not go in a cab, but some of them in Samuel Gurney's elegant equipage with coachman and footmen in livery, while the others went in a private carriage almost equally fine. Macaulay was visited in his apartments, Carlton House Chambers. The verses are so clearly a caricature it is needless to dwell on them.

The Friends who made this call were Samuel Gurney, Senior, the rich banker, Josiah Forster, George Stacey, John Hodgkin (the grandfather of Dr. Henry T. Hodgkin of our day), one of the ablest English lawyers of his time, and Joseph Bevan Braithwaite, who was the youngest of the group. All the Friends were prominent members of the Society.

Macaulay was not visited for discussion or argument, but to ask him for his proofs and authorities. With the exception of some attempt to argue on the part of Josiah Forster,² who was not supported by the others, there was no discussion at all. Macaulay gave them references, some of which were unfamiliar,

² This is doubtless the foundation for Macaulay's claim of a rout.

and then the deputation left. There was no "rout" or anything like it. Macaulay either entirely misunderstood the object of the visit, or wilfully misstated the facts. Far from being "civil" he was extremely rude, treating the Friends with contempt.

Immediately after this interview, William E. Forster, nephew of Josiah Forster, and who, in later years, became the well-known English statesman, went over Macaulay's authorities, carefully explored other sources of information, and in a short time issued his pamphlet in defense of Penn, shattering the evidences upon which Macaulay relied.

While Penn's character has been successfully vindicated by Forster, Paget, Hepworth Dixon, Janney, and others, it must be acknowledged that Penn did lay himself open to suspicion. He was a poor judge of character, was faithful to his friends, and was also of such a kindly disposition that he always wished to assist the needy and unfortunate, and so was not unfrequently deceived. William Penn was never held in higher esteem than to-day, while Macaulay's character as a trustworthy historian is gone, though from the charm and clearness of his style his "History" has many readers, who from time to time have to be warned to look with suspicion upon him as an authority on many matters of fact, especially those where his prejudices are concerned.

Though Macaulay professed to have routed his visitors, it is quite evident that he was influenced by the various defenses of Penn which appeared in his lifetime. This is shown by the striking changes he silently made in the Indexes to his History in later editions. Most of the slighting and contemptuous epithets are omitted, and the tone of the references is quite different from that of the first edition. It is true that the text stands unaltered, but the changes in the Index would seem to imply that similar changes would have been made in the text had Macaulay lived to revise his works.³

W. Hepworth Dixon points out a number of Macaulay's changes in the revised indexes; a few examples are here given.

³ Trevelyan's note to the interview hardly gives a fair impression, for he says, "In my uncle's papers there can be found no trace of his ever having changed his mind on the merits of the question."

"The first index refers to his 'scandalous Jacobitism'; the amended index drops the expression altogether. The first index speaks of 'his falsehood'; the second says only, 'held to bail'; 'Penn charged with treasonable conduct' becomes 'informed against by Preston'; in the first index 'Penn conceals himself'; in the amended index the entry is omitted. So again entries, 'Penn escapes to France,' 'returns to England and renews his plots' are omitted altogether. Again in his volume 5, though Penn was still before the public eye there are no sneers or charges brought against him.

It certainly seems strange that Macaulay's History should have been recently re-issued in handsome form, finely illustrated (1913-1915) without notes or comments. (See BULLETIN, Vol. VI, p. 29.)

It should be stated that William Penn was not the only person Macaulay sinned against. Paget brings four other charges of unfair treatment, perhaps equally strong. They are his treatment of the Duke of Marlborough; the Massacre of Glencoe; the Highlands of Scotland; and Viscount Dundee. The reasons for Macaulay's unfairness are chiefly two; first his strong prejudices, which made him slow, if not unable, to see any good in those he disliked; second, his marvellous memory to which he trusted far more than any historian should.

It will not be out of place to conclude with two recent notices of Macaulay's works. First, Sir Leslie Stephen, in the Dictionary of National Biography, in his article on Macaulay, who writes, "In spite of his wide reading, he [Macaulay] has often constructed pictures from trifling hints, and a picture once constructed, became a settled fact. Closer examination often shows a singular audacity in outrunning tangible evidence, when he has to deal with a hateful person, a James II, a Marlborough, or an Impey; and he is too much in love with the picturesque to lower his coloring to the reality." (Vol. 34, 417.) Second, Sir Adolphus W. Ward, in the Cambridge History of English Literature, who writes, "This way [Macaulay's] of dealing with evidence is conspicuously misleading in his accounts of Marlborough and Penn, each of which, as a whole, must be set down as a grave misrepresentation, even if particular objections, such as the con-

fusion of George Penne with William Penn, may be held not to be absolutely proved." (Vol. 14, 71.)⁴

MACAULAY AND THE FRIENDS.

It has often been a matter of surprise that the historian who was connected with Friends on his mother's side, and whose father, Zachary Macaulay, was so actively associated with many members of that Society in philanthropic efforts, should have displayed in his works a bitter hostility to a body whom he was thus peculiarly bound to do justice to.

But the real secret of his sneers and misrepresentations lies in the fact of his having been once rejected from the representation of Edinburgh in Parliament, mainly through the powerful influence of some Friends there, who turned the scale against him in the election, because some of his political votes or sentiments were very contrary to their own opinions. After this he took opportunities of retaliation, by inserting in his works charges derogatory to the Society.

This has long been a well-understood reason amongst Friends; but it is by no means so generally known that he has himself acknowledged that his personal feelings were the cause of these attacks. But I was informed by a highly respectable citizen of Philadelphia, Thomas Kimber, Jr., who is a member of the Philadelphia Board of Trade, and a managing director of one of the chief railways in Pennsylvania, that during a visit which he made to England a few years ago, he breakfasted one day with Macaulay, and in the course of conversation remarked, "We Pennsylvanians do not consider that you have done justice in your

⁴ The following are the most important authorities in regard to the defence of William Penn: W. E. Forster, *William Penn and T. B. Macaulay*, etc., London, 1849, rev. ed., Philadelphia, 1850; J. Paget, *The New Examen*, London, 1861, republished in *Paradoxes and Puzzles*, London, 1874; W. Hepworth Dixon, *William Penn*, etc., London, 1851, rewritten and issued as *History of William Penn, Founder of Pennsylvania*, London, 1872; S. M. Janney, *Life of William Penn*, 2d ed., Philadelphia, 1852. A new Life by John William Graham has just been published (1917), but too recently to be obtained in America.

History to the Founder of our State." Although a sincerely attached member of the Society of Friends, Thomas Kimber does not adopt the "peculiarities of dress and speech," and therefore Macaulay did not suspect him to be one; and, to show the authority for his allusions, took down from the shelf a volume, with a contemporary attack on Penn, which was quoted from a writer named in it. Thomas Kimber examined the book, and presently found in another part of it a statement, that the very writer just quoted was not always to be relied on for accuracy. Macaulay was nonplussed at this very unexpected check, and quickly changed the conversation, remarking: "Well, you know, if Penn hadn't been a Quaker, I shouldn't have said anything about these matters; but he was a Quaker, and I hate the Quakers."¹

[Macaulay's defeat at Edinburgh in 1847 can hardly be so strongly ascribed to the influence of the Friends as William Tallack supposed. They were doubtless prominent in the opposition, but they were relatively few in number. There were also allied against him great interests, such as the liquor interests and the opponents of church establishment. In 1852 Macaulay, without solicitation on his part, was again a candidate, and was returned at the head of the poll.—EDITOR.]

GEORGE WITHY'S DREAM.

George Withy (1763-1837) was a prominent English Friend of Bristol, who visited America in 1821-1822, travelling extensively, and visiting the Friends generally. He was much appreciated. The following account is taken from a sketch of his life by William Tanner, which came out in *The Friend* (London) in 1861. The following memorandum, written by George Withy, bears date "2d of 10th month, 1836." He writes: "About the middle period of my life (to the best of my recollection) I dreamed that I was in bed, and that two men entered my chamber, bearing two stools, which they placed in the room, and then retired. They soon re-

¹ William Tallack, *Friendly Sketches in America*, London, 1861, pp. 109, 110.

turned, bringing a coffin with them which they placed on the stools, and again retired. The coffin having a breastplate of brass, I got out of bed to read the inscription, which was 'George Withy, Bristol, aged sixty years.' The recollection of this circumstance often seriously affected me, and more particularly when in America in 1822; for in the Seventh month of that year my sixtieth year commenced, and as I had then no expectation of leaving America for a year or two, I was very frequently beset with fear that I should die in a foreign land; and considering how afflicting such an event would be to my endeared wife and children, I was often led to seek the protection of Him, without whose notice a sparrow falleth not to the ground. One day, as I was more earnestly seeking best help than at some other times, I heard an answer to my prayers very distinctly in this wise, 'If thou art faithful to what I require of thee in this land, I will add to thy days fifteen years.' Centering in a living sense of the Lord's faithfulness, my mind settled in calmness, having no more needless anxiety on a subject I could not solve."

It is a remarkable circumstance that George Withy's life was prolonged exactly fifteen years from the time at which the relief which he thus describes was granted him. *The Friend* (London), 7 mo. 1st, 1861, N. S., Vol. 1, p. 169.

JOHN BRIGHT ON THE CRIMEAN WAR.

"Twenty-two years ago, in the year 1854, as you know, I differed from the Government of the day, and from what appeared to be the vast majority of the people, on the question of the war with Russia. I was overpowered, as you know. Numbers and ignorance and passion were combined against me; and I, of course, was outvoted, and declared to be unwise, and unpatriotic; and I know not the list of unpleasant adjectives that were used in discussing my course and my position at that time. I do not know why I differed from other people so much, but sometimes I have thought it happened from the education I had received in the religious sect with which I am connected. We have no creed which monarchs and statesmen and high-priests have written for

us. Our creeds, so far as we comprehend it, comes pure and direct from the New Testament. We have no 37th Article which declares that it is lawful for Christian men at the commandment of the civil magistrate to wear weapons or arms, and take part and serve in the wars; which means, of course, and was intended to mean, that it is lawful for Christian men to engage in any part of the world, in any cause, at the command of a Monarch, or Prime Minister, or a Parliament, or a Commander-in-Chief, in the slaughter of his fellowmen, whom he might never have seen before, from whom he had not received the smallest injury, and against whom he had no reason to feel the smallest touch of anger or resentment."

From a speech at Manchester in 1876. Taken from *The Friend* (London), 11 mo. 1, 1876, New Series, Vol. XVI, 292.

NOTE.—The paragraph referred to in the 37th Article of Religion in the English Prayer-Book, reads: "It is lawful for Christian men, at the commandment of the Magistrate, to wear weapons, and serve in the wars." The corresponding Article (37th) in the Book of Common Prayer of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, reads: "The Power of the Civil Magistrate extendeth to all men, as well Clergy as Laity, in all things temporal; but hath no authority in things purely spiritual. And we hold it to be the duty of all men who are professors of the Gospel, to pay respectful obedience to the Civil Authority, regularly and legitimately constituted."—EDITOR.

PENNSYLVANIA AS SEEN BY AN ENGLISH TRAVELLER IN 1765.

The City of Philadelphia is perhaps one of the wonders of the World, if you consider its Size, the Number of Inhabitants, the regularity of its Streets, their great breadth and length, their cutting one another all at Right Angles, their Spacious publick and private buildings, Quays and Docks, the Magnificence and diversity of places of Worship (for here all Religions who profess the Name of Christ, are tolerated equally) the plenty of provisions brought to Market, and the Industry of all its Inhabitants, one will not hesitate to Call it the first town in America, but one that bids fair to rival any in Europe. It is not an hundred years

since the first tree was cut where the city now stands, and at this time it consists of more than three thousand six hundred Houses.—It is daily encreasing, and I doubt not in time, will reach all the way, from River to River,—the great and foreseeing Founder of it, Mr. Penn having wisely laid out the Space so far, which is daily taking and filling. . . . The Quakers here bear the great Sway in Government, which is clogged and incumbered, and I cannot help wishing that this and every other Proprietary Government in America was re-annexed to the Crown, and Governed by Royal Governours, whose Salaries ought to be permanent, and independent on the fickle will, and fancy of those they are sent to Superintend; till this most desirable end shall take place—America will never cordially unite, or be induced to act warmly and effectually, either towards their own defence, or to such other purposes, as may equally tend to their own, and to the Honour and advantage of Great Britain. . . .

In 1765 John Penn was Governour, an Excellent young man but parties ran so high between the Quakers and Presbyterians to whom the other Sects United, as being all too weak, it made things quite disagreeable; to this the two Parties, for, and against a change of Government added Combustible matter—and occasioned many inconveniences, both to the Publick and Individuals, which a more Stable and permanent Form of Government would obviate. “Journal of Lord Adam Gordon,” in “Travels in the American Colonies,” edited by Newton D. Mereness. New York, Macmillan Co., 1916. Pp. 411-413.

ANTHONY BENEZET.

“Yes, honest Anthony Benezet is dead, and in my opinion this State has lost one of her most valuable citizens when he died. I believe no man ever died here who was more universally or more justly beloved; he was truly a *Friend* who embraced all mankind in the arms of his benevolence.”

Samuel Hazard, in 1784. (Belknap Papers, II, 356. Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc., Ser. V, Vol. II.)

ANNUAL MEETING OF FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PHILADELPHIA.

The thirteenth annual meeting of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia was held in Arch Street Meeting-house on the evening of Second month 27, 1917.

About 125 members and their friends assembled at 6.30 o'clock in the tea-room and partook of a well-prepared supper, served at tastefully arranged tables.

Following the supper the annual reports of committees were presented.

Amelia M. Gummere, editor of the new edition of John Woolman's Journal, reported some new material had been found in York, England, where John Woolman died. Also the Boston Public Library has some manuscripts relating to the Indians, containing reference to John Woolman's visit to the Indians.

It is thought likely that it will be possible to have a publishing firm undertake the printing of this work for the Society, and it is hoped that it may be issued in about a year.

Report was made that the bronze tablet containing the words of the Prayer of William Penn for Philadelphia had been erected on the east side of the north archway of the City Hall. The design and position are satisfactory to the committee, who have been untiring in their efforts to have the tablet placed on a public building. [See frontispiece to this number.]

Albanus L. Smith, on behalf of the heirs of Margaret Longstreth Smith, presented a watch-box, formerly used as a protection for the city watchmen from exposure during cold and stormy weather. The gift was accepted by the Society, and it is hoped to have it erected on the grounds at Fourth and Arch Streets.

The general topic for the papers of the evening was "The Graveyard at Fourth and Arch Streets, and Brief Notices of Some Prominent People Buried There."

Papers were presented by Professor Allen C. Thomas, Lucy B. Roberts, Hannah T. Shipley, J. Henry Scattergood, William S. Yarnall, Lucy C. Shelmire and Amelia M. Gummere.

Albert Cook Myers, who has recently returned from England, spoke briefly about his work in collecting the complete writings of William Penn. He believes that as more information is found it will prove William Penn to have been not only a prominent Friend, but a public-spirited man and a world figure.

Catharine M. Shipley alluded briefly to a few prominent Friends, formerly members of the meeting at Fourth and Arch Streets, after which the meeting was adjourned.

MARY S. ALLEN, *Secretary*.

—*From The Friend*.

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BOOKS OF INTEREST TO FRIENDS.

Elizabeth Fry the Angel of the Prisons. By Laura E. Richards, author of "Florence Nightingale," etc. Illustrated. D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1916. 7½ x 5 in., pp. viii, 205. \$1.25.

This is an interesting account of Elizabeth Fry by a sympathetic outsider. It has few claims to originality, being a compilation from A. J. C. Hare's "The Gurneys of Earlham," the "Life of Elizabeth Fry" by her daughters, and other well-known books. It is written in the lively style of the author, and is a pleasant addition to the Elizabeth Fry literature, though it adds no new facts. It will be read by many who would not be likely to read the larger volumes, and so will doubtless be productive of good.

It is to be much regretted that the illustrations are not only poorly executed, but in two instances are incorrect. That facing page 186 is not a portrait of Elizabeth Gurney, afterwards Elizabeth Fry, but of Elizabeth (Shepherd) Gurney, wife of Samuel Gurney, of Ham House (see "Gurneys of Earlham," Vol. 1, 186; Vol. 2, 296; also "List of Illustrations" in each volume). The silhouette on the cover is not Elizabeth Gurney, but *Hannah* Gurney (see "Gurneys of Earlham," Vol. 1, 106, 164). A personal note from the author states that the publishers are responsible for the illustrations, and that corrections will be made should another edition of the book be called for.

A Dreamer of Dreams, Being a New and Intimate Telling of the Love Story and Life Work of Will Penn the Quaker. By Oliver Huckel, etc. New York, T. Y. Crowell Company, Publishers [1916]. 7 x 5 in., pp. xxvii, 249. \$1.25, net.

This book by a well-known Congregational minister, late of Baltimore, Maryland, is intended to be in the same class as the old favorites, "Diary of Lady Willoughby," and "Maiden and Married Life of Mary Powell." Like the works of Hannah Mary Kathbone and Anne Manning, fact and fiction are so much mixed up and interwoven, that only those who are familiar with the facts are able to distinguish between them. In the "Dreamer of Dreams" the style is pleasant, and the incidents well chosen. The author is in sympathy with William Penn, and has evidently read much of the literature bearing upon his theme. He has also sought for legends and stories of the early days in Pennsylvania which would lighten up his supposed "Diary." It is, however, almost impossible to regard such a work seriously, for it is neither history, nor biography, nor fiction, but a little of fact and a good deal of fiction, with a transparently artificial atmosphere of antiquity.

Concerning Prayer, Its Nature, Its Difficulties and Its Value. By the author of "Pro Christo et Ecclesia," and others. Macmillan & Co., London, 1916. 8½ x 5½ in., pp. xiii, 504. \$3.00.

The fact that one of the essays in this composite volume is by Rufus M. Jones, the well-known Friend, gives it a place in these columns. It is a striking comment on the current thought of to-day that this good-sized volume at a comparatively high cost should not only be published, but that a second issue should be called for within a month of publication. Another interesting feature is thus described in the "Introduction": "In this volume a lady, three laymen, two parish clergymen, two clerical dons—all Anglicans—a Wesleyan theological tutor, a Congregational minister, and an American professor belonging to the Society of Friends, put forward some thoughts which are the result of a sustained corporate effort to clear up their own ideas on this important matter." The volume is wholly non-controversial. Naturally the essay by Rufus Jones, "Prayer and the Mystic Vision," will appeal most to Friends, but there is very much that will be not only interesting, but helpful to the serious reader. These are the words of an Anglican Canon: "Moreover, whether a church be accustomed to a fixed Liturgy or to extemporary prayer led by the minister, it is impossible that the special needs of every individual can be met in the written or spoken prayer. . . . Hence intervals of silence in which individuals can think specially of their own or their friends' needs, or in which the whole body is invited simply to wait upon God, are a vital necessity.

"The explicit recognition of the value of silence is the great contribution to religion of the Society of Friends, and in an age of rush and tumble many feel strongly drawn to the infinite quietness and simplicity of the Quaker Meeting" (pp. 269, 270).

America's View of the Sequel. By Royal J. Davis, of the New York *Evening Post*. London, Headley Brothers, 1916. 7½ x 5 in., pp. 155. 2s.

This small volume by Royal J. Davis, an Earlham and Haverford graduate, and well known member of New York City Meeting, is a collection of the views of distinguished Americans as to what will be the political and economic conditions of the belligerent and neutral nations, particularly in their international relations, after the close of the present great conflict. The collector and annotator has done his work skilfully and impartially. The views expressed are very diverse and sometimes contradictory, but such a conspectus as this is very suggestive and should be provocative of thoughtful consideration. Naturally the appeal to history is often made, and in this connection the following sentence quoted from a financial article in the New York *Evening Post*, is pertinent: "It is the safest of all political and economic maxims, that no two apparently similar periods of history ever duplicate each other exactly in the sequel."

It is to be regretted that the book is not published in America as well as England.

The Quaker of the Future Time. By George A. Walton. *The William Penn Lectures.* Philadelphia, Walter H. Jenkins, Printer, 1916. 7½ x 5½ in., pp. 49. 50 cents.

This is the second "William Penn Lecture" given under the auspices of the Young Friends' Movement of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Race Street). At the lecturer's request "Eleanor Scott Sharples assisted him with the poem written for the occasion." In both the verses and in the lecture an ideal citizen is portrayed, ideal both towards God and towards man. "The Friend of the future, therefore, eager to be a 'part of God's great plan,' will neither neglect the development of his spiritual life, nor overwork it. . . . Amongst men there is the warm glow of sympathy and understanding, fresh, spontaneous; never mechanical nor indifferent. Towards God is the constant yearning for guidance, and inspiration, up to the very fullness of the stature of manhood that is in Christ" (p. 48).

It must be said that the lecture is somewhat lacking in warmth of feeling and spirituality.

The Ministry of Reconciliation, Christian Pacifism; Its Grounds and Implications. By F. W. Armstrong, Richard Roberts, H. W. Horwill, H. T. Hodgkin, and others. Edited by Hugh Martin. London, Headley Brothers [1916]. 7¾ x 5 in., pp. 162. 2s.

This volume does not appear to be a "Fellowship of Reconciliation" publication, though some of the contributors are active members of that organization. It is "the work of men who believe that war is indefensible from the Christian standpoint." As one of the writers says, "The hammer of Thor cannot take the place of the sword of the spirit."

"The book is primarily intended for use in Study Circles and as a basis for discussion of the grounds and implications of the Christian pacifist position."

There is some difference of opinion as to minor points, but all the writers are agreed on the general position. Not the least able essay is that by our well-known Friend, Dr. Henry T. Hodgkin, on "The Function of the Church." This, he states, is (1): *The Church is in the world to reveal the Father*; (2) *The Church is in the world to announce the Kingdom of God*; (3) *The Church is in the world to express the Kingdom of God in concrete terms.* The book will well repay careful reading.

Life at the Old Home. . . . Some Account of Edward and Tacy Foulke, and Susan Foulke, with life at the old home. By Hannah Jones Bacon. [No place, no date.] 7½ x 5¼ in., pp. 47. Privately printed [1916].

A note in this little volume states that fifty copies were printed for distribution among his family by Francis L. Bacon, December 25, 1916.

The book written, late in life, by Hannah Jones Bacon, is a record of Quaker life on a farm at Penllyn, near Philadelphia, between 1831 and 1914. The remembrances relate chiefly to early years, and the glimpses of the country life at that time are very interesting. The narrative is simple but sprightly, and one can but wish it had been longer. Three reproductions of daguerreotypes, two silhouettes, and a view of the "old home" add to the interest of the book.

A Lover of Books, The Life and Literary Papers of Lucy Harrison. Written and arranged by Amy Greener, with portraits and illustrations. London, J. M. Dent & Sons; New York, E. P. Dutton & Co., 1916. 7¾ x 5½ in. 5s.

Lucy Harrison (1844-1915) was the daughter of Daniel and Anna (Botham) Harrison, both Friends, though the latter in after years joined the Church of England. Lucy Harrison was an unusual character, and the reader instinctively wishes for a longer record than the 94 pages which are given to the "Life." She attended lectures at Bedford College for two years, and had the privilege of being under such men as George MacDonald, S. R. Gardiner, and Richard Holt Hutton, afterwards so well known as the editor of the *Spectator* and as an essayist. Among the friends of her family were Dinah M. Craik, the author of *John Halifax*, Dora Greenwell, William De Morgan, Holman Hunt, Octavia Hill, and others.

When she was twenty-two, she was asked to give some temporary help in Bedford College School, and so, as she laughingly said, she "entered by a fluke" into her almost lifelong profession—that of a teacher. After nearly twenty years of teaching her health gave way, and she was compelled to take a rest. In 1890 Lucy Harrison took up teaching again by becoming headmistress at the Mount School at York. At this well known Friends' School for girls she remained for twelve years, and these years were "memorable in the history of the school." In 1902 she retired from office. Her influence was largely that of character, but she possessed the rare combination of artistic and literary tastes and equipment with business talent and attention to detail. Her later years were spent in a unique house she built near Bainbridge, Wensleydale, Yorkshire. The literary addresses and essays which form two-thirds of the volume are marked by keen literary appreciation and sound criticism. They are on "Jane Austen," "Charles Dickens," "Wordsworth's Teaching," "Tagore," "John Woolman," and others. Three admirable portraits and three views, together with reproductions of her sketches, add much to the interest.

St. Paul the Hero. By Rufus M. Jones, author of "The Inner Life," etc. Illustrated. New York, The Macmillan Co., 1917. 8 x 5 in., pp. 172.

This volume, primarily written for youth, is in the clear and attractive style of the author. It is a lively narrative of the growth and develop-

ment of the great Apostle. Known incidents in his life are skilfully made the foundation of imagined experiences. There is nothing which might not have taken place, and the author's accurate and extensive knowledge of Pauline literature has enabled him to avoid pitfalls which a less competent hand might have failed to see. It is always a debatable question how far it is expedient to mingle fact and fiction in writing of great characters; but, if it is to be done, this book is good example. The early part of the narrative is better suited to younger readers than the latter part. This was almost inevitable, and it would seem to have been better to begin on a higher plane which could have been adhered to all through. There are six helpful illustrations reproduced from engravings. The two maps are so much reduced as to be difficult of consultation. The mechanical execution of the volume is excellent.

Journal of Samuel Rowland Fisher. In the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, for April, 1917, there is published the first part of the "Journal of Samuel Rowland Fisher of Philadelphia, 1779-1781." This Friend was "great-grandson to the Quaker John Fisher, who with his wife Margaret, accompanied William Penn on his first voyage to America, in the ship *Welcome* [1682]." The part of the Diary published in this section relates almost exclusively to his trial and imprisonment for sending intelligence of "military importance" to the "enemy," the British, in a letter to his brother in New York, which letter was intercepted by the "patriots." The accused insisted on his innocence, would neither give nor receive any security, and remained in jail for months.

This journal throws much light on the experiences of Friends during the Revolution; in this case of a British sympathizer.

The remaining portion of the "Journal" will be looked for with interest.

NOTES AND QUERIES

AN INCIDENT OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.—The following incident in the life of Martha Steddom occurred in South Carolina during the American Revolution: "The depredations suffered at the hands of the marauding soldiers of both the Continental and British armies have already been referred to. It was their custom to enter houses and take therefrom whatever they saw that they desired. On one occasion they cut from Martha Steddom's loom the cloth that she was then weaving, and carried it away with them. She was the possessor of a number of stands of bees, and the attempt of a party of soldiers to rob the hives resulted disastrously. One of their number, having possessed himself of the family butcher knife, was using it in his attempts at honey getting. Compelled by the stings of the bees to desist, he retreated striking at them with the knife. By an unfortunate stroke he struck his own nose, almost severing it from his face. He then came into the house and desired Martha Steddom "to tie it on" for him. She took bandages, secured the wounded member in place and

"tied it on" as best she could. The humor of the situation, however, quite overcame her; and when narrating the incident to one of her granddaughters many years afterwards, she would again laugh heartily, and said that she could not have checked herself, even if threatened with death. From "The Steddom Reunion of 1916."
—W. R. KERSEY.

A SCARCELY KNOWN QUAKER POET.—In Volume XIII, pp. 239, 240, of the *Cambridge History of English Literature*, Professor Saintsbury gives an appreciative notice of Herbert Edwin Clarke (1852-1912). Herbert Clarke was a Friend, and in the *Annual Monitor* for 1913 will be found an interesting sketch of his life with a portrait. His poetry, though of a high order, never was popular, and his volumes, so far as known, were never republished or circulated to any extent in America. Saintsbury says of him, "His is the only poetry which has done justice to the strange and unique beauty of the fen-country, with its command—unequalled save at sea, and very different from that given

by the sea—of level horizon and unbroken sky.”

FRIENDS IN RELIEF WORK IN FRANCE.—E. V. Lucas, in his “Cloud and Silver,” a book of essays, 1916, in the essay, “The Marne After the Battle,” has some interesting, sympathetic notes on the relief work of the Friends in France (pp. 27-36). One paragraph reads, “The Society of Friends have been and are busy not only in hut-building, but in all kinds of reconstitution; distributing seeds, chickens, rabbits, clothes, teaching the children, nursing, and so forth. For the *sinistrés*, as the burned-out populace are called, naturally often lose all, and they need every kind of help in beginning again. How such stalwart young fellows in their grey uniforms first struck the simple and still half-dazed peasantry of the Marne, I do not know; but the subtleties of English sects and pacifism could not have been an open book. Watching several of the Friends at work on a shed, a curé put to me the very natural question, ‘Are all Englishmen carpenters?’”

ALLITERATIVE NAMES.—John Jay Smith, of Germantown, Philadelphia (1798-1881), in his “Recollections” (privately printed, Philadelphia, 1892), mentions (page

140) the following curious names as occurring among his customers: “Speakman and Say, Druggists;” “Dr. Dudley Diggs, Druggist, Dagsboro, Delaware.”

ESTIMATE OF WHITTIER.—Dr. Augustus H. Strong, who was for forty years (1872-1912) president of Rochester Theological Seminary (Baptist), has published at eighty a volume, “American Poets and their Theology,” in which he treats of the religious views and their presentation, of Bryant, Emerson, Whittier, Poe, Longfellow, Lowell, Holmes, and Walt Whitman. The view is that of a conservative theologian, or, as he himself puts it, “the standard . . . is that of . . . modified Calvinism, or the theology of the New Testament.” Naturally in the works of the group he finds much to take exception to, though he finds much to praise. One can hardly help feeling that not infrequently the author reads into a poet’s words meanings which the poet never thought of. On the whole, his judgment of Whittier is just and appreciative. He evidently feels closer to him in sympathy than to any of the others of the group. He rather naively remarks, “Whittier . . . was not so far away from Calvinism as he thought.”

CENTER SQUARE WATER WORKS, PHILADELPHIA, 1801. — From a pamphlet, "Department of Public Works, Bureau of Water, City of Phila., 1909, Description of Filtration Works and Pumping Stations, also Brief History of the Water Supply," it appears (pp. 59-60) with reference to Benjamin Latrobe, an engineer of "superior talent and industry"—The accepted plan of B. H. Latrobe provided that the supply of water be taken from the Schuylkill River at Chestnut Street wharf, and the erection of a steam pumping plant at that place to raise the water to a basin at the same location. From this basin, the water was to flow by gravity through an underground conduit in Chestnut Street to Center Square, now the site of City Hall. Here his plan provided for another pumping station. The description of these pumping plants is in a report to the Water Committee by Frederick Graff, Chief Engineer and Supt. of the Water Department, dated Jan. 3, 1853, etc., etc. Page 61 has a sectional view of Center Square Water Works. The first

steam pumping plant in the U. S. was completed in 1801. For further developments and sources of water supply, see said pamphlet.

GEORGE B. COCK.

ROBERT PROUD.—"Robert Proud has for me a pathetic interest. He was one of the first Americans to combine the functions of historian and schoolmaster. He was very poor and struggled hard against straitened circumstances, producing at the end a book [History of Pennsylvania] which satisfies many of the qualifications of the modern school of history. . . . Indeed, the State of Pennsylvania cannot be said to have shown great interest in the writing of its own history. Populous and wealthy as it is, it can be asserted that the book written by Robert Proud, a poor schoolmaster, who struggled hard against an indifferent public attitude, is the best in scholarship and appreciation of the task before the writer that has yet been produced." John Spencer Bassett, "Middle Group of American Historians," 1916, pages 16, 18.

Bulletin of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia

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NOTE.—The editor does not hold himself responsible for any statement made in contributed articles.

All communications for the BULLETIN should be addressed to Allen C. Thomas, Haverford, Pa.

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JOHN KINSEY.—I.

1693-1750.

After William Penn, no Colonial Quaker had the absolute confidence of his Friends in church affairs, and at the same time the strong leadership in the state to the extent possessed by John Kinsey. During the last decade of his rather short life he was the clerk of the Yearly Meeting, and its most responsible and influential member. He was also the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the Province, Speaker of the Assembly and the undoubted leader of his party in political management. By this time the factions within the Society had practically disappeared. It was one loyal united body in both state and church. The differences which separated Thomas Lloyd and George Keith, and later David Lloyd and James Logan, were no longer existent. New issues were soon to arise, but when John Kinsey came most prominently before the people, there was this calm which had been cemented by about thirty years of peace and prosperity, after the political upheaval of 1710. During this time the memory of the great Founder had grown more and more in the esteem of his people. His government was established in popular regard as a model of liberality and wisdom. His words were quoted and his example pointed to, in settling the problems which arose.

John Kinsey's grandfather, John Kinsey, was a member of the little band which settled Burlington in 1677. He died a few days after his landing at the Swedish Settlement of Shackamaxon. His standing may be estimated by the fact that he was one of the Commissioners sent by the proprietors of West Jersey to guard their interests. His son, John Kinsey, the second, was a prominent lawyer. In 1716 he was elected to the Legislature of New Jersey, of which he was for several years the speaker. He was also an active and acceptable minister among Friends traveling extensively through the colonies.

John Kinsey, the third, had therefore an inheritance of legal and ecclesiastical faculty which he greatly developed in himself. At the same time he had the Quaker discipline of his youth, and

a religious tendency in his early days which steadied and utilized his great powers to a life devoted to public service.

He was born in Burlington in 1693. He studied law, was elected to the Assembly of New Jersey, and became its speaker as the successor to his father. There are too few records of his public life and still less of his private to enable us to fill up this bare recital.

The first we hear of him in Philadelphia is in 1725, when he came to plead a case in court before Governor William Keith. He began to speak with his hat on. The Governor, who should have better informed himself as to Quaker scruples, ordered him to take it off. He refused, stating that he was acting from conscientious motives. The Governor ordered the court officers to remove it, and the incident seemed closed.

But to the Quarterly Meeting it was too vital a matter to be dropped in this way. It was an attack upon their religious liberty as they deemed it, and they sent a formal protest to the Governor.

"There is no people more willing than the Friends to pay all due regards to their superiors, to offer all honor to the courts of justice, and in every way consistent with their religious persuasions to pay all deference to their government and king; but when our conception of an individual's personal liberty is trespassed upon, we have openly and firmly borne our testimony against it in all countries and places where our lots have fallen."

Keith was a politic man determined to get along with every one. He could not afford to contest a little point like this with a people so strong in numbers and in influence as the Friends then were, and the following entry is found in the records of the Court:

"On consideration of the humble address presented to the Governor this day, read in open court, from the Quarterly Meeting of the people called Quakers, for the city and county of Philadelphia, it is ordered that the said address be filed with the register, and that it be made a standing rule of the Court of Chancery for the Province of Pennsylvania, in all time to come, that any person whatsoever, professing himself to be one of the peo-

ple called Quakers, may and shall be admitted, if they think fit, to speak, or otherwise officiate, and apply themselves decently unto the said courts without being obliged to observe the usual ceremony of uncovering their heads, by having their hats taken off; and such privilege hereby ordered and granted the people called Quakers shall at no time hereafter be understood or interpreted as any contempt or neglect of the said court, but shall be taken only as an act of conscientious liberty, of right appertaining to the religious persuasion of the said people, and agreeable to their practices in all the civil affairs of life."

To understand why the good Friends of the day made so much of this question of the hat, we must know the conditions of the times. During the seventeenth century men were accustomed to wear a head covering in the house as well as outside. They took it off only as an honor accorded to persons in superior station, and expected those of lower rank to take theirs off to themselves. The regicide judges refused to uncover their heads when they tried King Charles, and of course he refused to recognize their standing by uncovering his. A century later at the outbreak of the French Revolution, the popular Assembly insisted on wearing their hats in the presence of the nobility, as a testimony to their equality. The sturdy Puritanism of the early Friends disposed of the matter once for all, by uncovering to no one save God, neither to King nor Magistrate, Priest nor Judge. Bitterly they suffered for this testimony to democracy. They went to jail for months at the command of angry judges. William Penn wore his hat before King Charles II, and the pleasant monarch remarking that it was not customary in that presence for more than one to remain covered, took off his own. Under all circumstances they stood by their convictions, taking all that came of imprisonment, contempt or ridicule.

It was in 1725 too near this time for the cause to be given away in a Quaker Province, governed by the sons of those who had suffered in England, and the meetings unanimously accepted the challenge. Afterwards no Quaker lawyer or witness was required to remove his hat during colonial days.

John Kinsey moved to Philadelphia in 1730 at the age of

thirty-seven, and the same year was made clerk of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. He was the strong and useful man of the body, and held the place till his death twenty years later.

The records of the meeting for these twenty years are full of John Kinsey's work. His name was scarcely ever absent from any important committee. The literary work of Friends of this time, including the London Epistles, the collection of minutes for the new discipline, the epistles to subordinate meetings, was very largely done by him. During most of the time he was engaged in gathering materials for writing a history of the early days of the Province, which material afterwards passed into the hands of Samuel Smith. He was the medium through whom the decisions of the meeting were conveyed to the public, as, note for instance, the following minute of 1738:

"John Kinsey was ordered to draw an advertisement to be printed in the newspapers of Philadelphia, in order to inform all whom it may concern that the book lately published by Benjamin Lay was not published by approbation of Friends; that he is not in unity with us, and that his book contains false charges as well against particular persons of our Society as against Friends in general."

Equally prompt was the State of Pennsylvania to demand his services. On the 20th of January, 1731, the sheriff asked admittance to the Assembly with the message, "In pursuance of a writ of the said sheriff, directed by the honorable the governor of the Province, John Kinsey, Gentleman, the day and year above mentioned was elected a representative in the Legislature to serve in the General Assembly of Pennsylvania this present year, in room of David Potts,¹ lately deceased." On the next day John Kinsey took his seat, which he held, with one slight intermission, to his death, and after 1739 was Speaker.

As with the Meeting, so with the Legislature, John Kinsey immediately became the important member, drawing up bills and addresses to the Governor, acting on committees, as trustee of public funds and real estate, as witness that the great seal was

¹ David Potts was a Friend and an ancestor of Theodore Roosevelt.

properly attached to laws, and whenever good sense and legal training could serve the public interests. For several years he was in addition Attorney General of the Province.

So matters went on till 1739, when Andrew Hamilton resigned the Speakership tired of its responsibilities and duties, and his faithful and unrewarded attention to the building of the State House. He had handed in his final accounts, and made his great farewell speech, perhaps the best résumé of Pennsylvania Colonial conditions ever given. There was no doubt that John Kinsey should be his successor.

On October 15, 1739, the Assembly met and "by a majority vote" made John Kinsey Speaker. The same day they presented him to the Governor, George Thomas, an appointee of the Penn family, who expressed in the formal way his satisfaction with their choice. He then made the usual requests of the Governor "that the House might have ready access to him at all reasonable times when the public business should require it: that they might enjoy freedom of speech in all their propositions and debates: that the members might be exempted from arrest during the sittings of the Assembly. that the Governor should give no ear to reports touching debates in the House till matters debated on passed into resolves: and that the Speaker's inadvertent mistakes might be excused. All of which he had requested as the just rights of the Freemen of Pennsylvania; and the Governor was pleased to assure the House that they should be protected in the full use and exercise of the same."

This little résumé of legislative privileges represented the gains made in the years by the Quaker Assembly, in securing the independence of the people's representatives from encroachment of the Proprietors and Governor. They were not likely to lose any of it under John Kinsey's vigorous leadership.

While they did not know it at the time the easy days of Quaker control were about at an end. They were to struggle along in the midst of wars and rumors of wars for some seventeen years longer, but against an ever-increasing opposition from the Proprietors on one side and the militant portion of the population on the other. While John Kinsey was alive they fought

the battle successfully in the legislative halls and at the polls. The contest began on the day following the choice of John Kinsey as Speaker.

About the same time that John Kinsey took up the Speakership, George Thomas was made Lieutenant-Governor under the Penns. He knew very little about the character of the people whom he came from the West Indies to govern, but he was a man of ability and resources. If he had been appointed a few years earlier in the times of peace he might have quietly adjusted himself to the conditions; but, unfortunately, Spain and England, as a result of differences centering in the West Indies, concluded to have a war, and Thomas was keen to support his royal master. The two men, Kinsey and Thomas, were pitted against each other as the leaders of the contest which was to follow. Whether we consider skill in disputations or in political management, the end of the struggle did not find the Quaker leader at any disadvantage.

The contest began when, in the Tenth month, 1739, Governor Thomas sent a message to the Assembly, suggesting that they make an appropriation to protect the province against attack, and assist the king. The Assembly took the matter into serious consideration, and explained in a somewhat lengthy preface that they were all loyal subjects, lovers of religious liberty, and that one of the principal motives which had brought them and their ancestors to the Province was the full enjoyment of liberty of conscience which was granted to them by their great Charter, and which the proprietor had pledged himself and his successors "according to the true intent and meaning thereof, should be kept and remain without any alterations inviolably for ever." And then they add, "It is not unknown most of them were of the people called Quakers, and principled against bearing arms in any case whatsoever." They admit that the circumstances have changed, and that a great many who have come in since think it to be their duty to fight in defense of their country, families and estates. These also have the same right of liberty of conscience with themselves. They do not condemn the use of arms in others, but they object to any law which would compel a man to

bear arms against his conscience; and they add that a law which forces other people to bear arms and relieves the Quakers would be inconsistent and partial. Then they make a suggestion to the Governor, which, if he had been wise, he would have adopted and dropped the matter. They point out that the Charter gave him ample authority to raise a troop himself, and that they did not propose to interfere with his actions in this respect, provided he did not trample upon anyone's conscience. The clause of the Charter granting this authority, which William Penn accepted, it may be interesting to note:

"To the Proprietor aforesaid, his Heirs and Assigns, by themselves or their Captains, or other their Officers, to levy, muster, and train all Sorts of Men of what Condition soever or wheresoever born in the said Province of Pennsylvania for the time being, and to make Warr and to pursue the Enemies and Robbers aforesaid as well by Sea as by Land, even without the Limits of the said Province, and by God's Assistance to Vanquish and take them, and being taken to put them to Death by the Law of Warr, or to save them at their Pleasure; And to do all, and every other thing which unto the Charge and Office of a Captain General of an Army belongeth, or hath accustomed to belong, as fully and freely as any Captain General of an Army hath ever had the same."

They wound up their address by the pious reflection:

"Not doubting but that Wee shall share in that Protection Our Gracious Sovereign denys not even to the meanest of His Subjects; And having at the same time a due dependence on that Power which not only calms the raging Waves of the Sea, but sett's Limits beyond which they cannot pass; And remembering the Words of the sacred Text That 'Except the Lord keep the City the Watchman waketh but in vain.'"

We find in this paper several interesting indications of the state of feeling among Friends on the subject of war at this date. One was that they were unequivocally opposed to all war under all circumstances; another, that they had no words of condemnation for those who from good motives thought and acted differently, and, thirdly, that their reliance was upon a divine Providence who, they believed, would interfere for their protection.

The Governor was not disposed to recede from the contest. In an epistle equally lengthy he called their attention to the fact that they were representatives of the whole people; that he had no right to look into their personal religious persuasions, but that it was their duty as representatives to protect a rich Province from invaders. He did not wish to infringe any of their consciences, nor to introduce persecution, for he himself was a great friend of liberty. "But," he said, "as the world is now circumstanced, no purity of heart or set of religious principles will protect us from the enemy." The Assembly had recognized this in the institution of courts and juries. He told them that they would condemn "little rogues" to death for breaking into their houses, and yet they would not use similar means on a larger scale for meeting of the more organized attacks upon their property. He had not been unaware of the privileges granted to him by the Charter, and the very fact that William Penn was willing to accept the powers of a Captain-General under this Charter indicated his opinions as to the necessity of bearing arms in defense of his government.

The Assembly returned to the attack, and article by article, replied to the Governor's address. They showed that their position inland from the sea, protected by friendly colonies to the north, east and south, made them in no danger of being attacked. Consequently the Governor's argument for the need of defense had no bearing on the case. They will not admit the justice of the comparison between the "little rogue" and the "great invaders."

The Governor, in a couple of days, returned to the attack. He reproved them for their acrimony, which, he says, he little expected from men of their principles, and declares he will not engage in the discussion in that spirit. He thanks them sarcastically for their description of the geography of the Province, which he intimates he is not entirely unacquainted with. And then he again takes up the question of the burglar, where he evidently thinks he has a point.

The Assembly contented itself with a general reply to this, stating that they had no delight in controversy; that they did not believe the Province was in danger; that the early appropriations

of money for warlike purposes did not prove their utility; that they were steadfastly loyal to King George, and that on the basis of these well-known principles had always enjoyed the protection of the Crown, and that the Province would receive no ill effects from their lack of legislation. In the main their argument was that fighting in itself was very unlike the preparation for a storm on sea and they could not do it even for a good cause.

Then the Governor replies in a final argument, and asks the question which has never been answered: "If your principles will not allow you to pass a bill for establishing a militia, if they will not allow you to secure the navigation of a river by building a fort, if they will not allow you to provide armies for the defense of the inhabitants, if they will not allow you to raise men for his Majesty's service for distressing an insolent enemy, is it calumny to say your principles are inconsistent with the ends of government?"

There was a veiled irony in many of the Assembly's replies, which, I suppose, came from the pen of John Kinsey, and which delighted the men who, in the coffee-houses of Philadelphia, followed the controversy with great interest.

During the course of the controversy, parties were gradually forming, and this thrust and counterthrust of arguments were simply appeals to the constituents; for there were no editorial comments in the scanty papers of those days by which public opinion was influenced. The arguments were passed around by word of mouth or by written manuscript, and in many a coffee-house or country tavern, and doubtless also on the steps of the meeting-houses after the assembly was dismissed, they were repeated and illustrated with ever-increasing emphasis.

Not all Friends took the position that defensive war was inconsistent with Christianity. James Logan was the leader of a considerable company of young and well-to-do Philadelphians who openly espoused the other side. But at present they were opposed to the Governor's pretensions, and worked with their associates of the yearly meeting.

ISAAC SHARPLESS.

(To be continued.)

SOME FRIENDS AND INDIANS.

During the years of Zeisberger's missionary efforts among the Lenape Indians,¹ he says in his diary (1781-1808) begun after the removal (probably the fifth one) of his Gnadenhutten (Tents of Grace) from the Muskingum to Tuscarorwas County, Ohio, November 20, 1787, "A Quaker came here who lives in Chester [Pennsylvania]; his father named Isaac Pile had been taken prisoner on the Wabash by Piankashaws² (1780)."

Many mentions are also made of a Quaker, Abiah Parke,³ who traded⁴ for many years with the Indians and "dealt uprightly with them."

1793. Six Quakers, William Savery,⁵ John Parrish, John Elliott, and Jacob Lindley, from Pennsylvania, and Joseph Moore and William Hartshorne, from New Jersey, accompanied the

¹ D. G. Brinton, "The Lenape and their Legends."

² The Piankashaws had been driven West. Three chiefs of this tribe ceded land in the Treaty of Grenville, 1795. See "A Mission to the Indians," Martha E. Tyson, Philadelphia, 1862.

³ This Abiah Parke was probably from Chester County, Pennsylvania. "He took sides with the British, and for one of his exploits led a party of the enemy by night to capture his uncle, Colonel Hannum, at Marshallton," left the parts, "and went to Canada, and never afterwards was heard of alive." Afterward is said to have married a Shawnese woman and left two sons. Futhey and Cope, "Hist. Chester County," p. 118, N.

⁴ The women of Gnadenhutten made for sale mats, brooms, and baskets, the men canoes. Deer sold for \$4 or \$5 each. They likewise took quantities of honey from the wild bees of "the bush," and each family made from one hundred to two hundred pounds of maple sugar. One mention is made of their trading for flour at the rate of one pound of sugar for one pound of flour; but usually traders take sugar and sell at three shillings a pound.

⁵ William Savery (1750-1804) was an eminent minister of Philadelphia. He was the one whose sermon at Norwich, England, 2d mo. 4, 1798, made such a lasting impression on the young Elizabeth Gurney, afterwards Elizabeth Fry.

American Peace Commissioners to Detroit, visited the Indians, left them \$100 and a message for the Indian Church.⁶

1797. "A Quaker from the States came to see us and the Indians was much pleased."⁷

After the treaty of Grenville, August 3, 1795, the Yearly Meetings of Philadelphia, Baltimore, and New York appointed Indian Committees; Baltimore with charge of the Western Indians, until the establishment of Ohio Yearly Meeting [1813]; and Philadelphia "took by the hand" the Six Nations of New York State. But before this time, in 1794, the Meeting for Sufferings of Philadelphia having been informed that the Indians particularly desired them to be present at a treaty to be held between the Six Nations of New York at Canandaigua, David Bacon, William Savery, John Parrish, and James Emlen offered their services, and were approved by the Meeting.⁸

The following letter from William Savery was forwarded after their return home from this visit.

Philadelphia, 1st month 24th, 1795.

MY GOOD FRIEND, THE FARMER'S BROTHER,

By Capt. Chapin I thought proper to inform thee, & thy Nation, that me and all my friends who attended the Treaty at Canandaigua, arrived safe home and found our friends well—we Reflect frequently on your friendly Disposition toward us & the Issue of the Treaty, which we hope will be the means of a Lasting peace between you & the United States—

⁶ 1793. Information was received by the Friends of Philadelphia that a treaty was likely to be held at Sandusky, and that the Indians requested that they be present, and that they also "send to the children of Onas [William Penn] three strings of white wampum as a token of their friendship." The consent of their Monthly Meetings and the approbation of President Washington being obtained, the above-named Friends were appointed, taking with them an Epistle to the Indians from the Meeting for Sufferings of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. See also "Life and Times of David Zeisberger," Phila., 1871, p. 634.

⁷ E. De Schweinitz, "Life and Times of David Zeisberger," Philadelphia, 1871.

⁸ Janney, "Hist. of Friends," vol. iv, 150; Journal of Wm. Savery, pp. 88, 89, Phila. ed.

we hope you will keep the Remainder of your Land in your hands, and learn to Cultivate it & that you will by all means keep in Peace with the White People as well as with your Indian Brethren & all men—this will be your greatest happiness, if we, your friends, the Quakers of Philadelphia Can be of any Service at any time, & we Desire you may be free in applying to us—with a great Deal of Regard & Desire for your Welfare, I am your friend.⁹

WILLIAM SAVERY.

ELLA K. BARNARD.

SAMUEL AND MARY (BECKET) BOWNE AND THEIR FRIENDS.—II.

CONCERNING MARY BECKET.

Reference was made in the last paper to the tradition that the mother of Mary Becket was an Elinor Percy.¹ No evidence has ever been found to substantiate this story, and the recently discovered history of Mary Becket makes it wholly untenable as well as the other tradition that she came as companion to an English woman minister.²

The late Thomas Stewardson, of Philadelphia, made a careful investigation into the history of Mary Becket, and succeeded in clearing up what had been a puzzling problem. The following account is based on his researches, the results of which were communicated by him to the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* during the years 1886-1887, supplemented by original letters and documents in the possession of the present writer.

⁹ O. Turner, "Hist. of the Holland Purchase," 1849.

¹ This story is given in W. H. H. Davis's "History of Bucks County, Pennsylvania," pp. 86, 106.

² It has been suggested that there has been a confusion between two ancestors named Mary—one, Mary Hornor, who *may* have been of Percy descent, and Mary Becket, who undoubtedly was not. *Penna. Mag.*, xi, 245, 246.

The first thing we know of Mary Becket is that her name is in the passenger list of the ship "Vine" of "Leverpoole," which arrived at Philadelphia "ffrom Dolyserne³ near dolgules³ in Merionethshire," "the 17th day of the 7 mo. [September] 1684." She is put down as being in the company of Henry Baker from Walton [near Preston] in Lancashire. The party consisted of "Henry Baker & Margaret his wife," their four daughters, two sons, Mary Becket, and ten servants. It must be remembered that the word "servants" means "indentured" servants which did not necessarily mean those who performed menial service, but who were analogous to college students of our day who work their way through college. They were bound for various terms so they could work out their passage money, etc.⁴

The Pemberton family were doubtless of yeomanry rank and lived in Lancashire. Phineas Pemberton was intimate with Roger Haydock, Robert Lowe, Henry Baker, and others. He and Phebe Harrison were married (1676) at the house of John Haydock (brother of Roger) at Cappull, Lancashire; and Henry, Roger, Elizabeth, and Anne Haydock, and Elinor Lowe are among the signers of the marriage certificate. Robert Lowe (probably the younger Robert) was Phineas Pemberton's apprentice in 1672.⁵ These facts are mentioned to show the connection between the Pembertons, Lowes, and Haydocks.

Roger Haydock, of Cappull, was a prominent minister who traveled widely in Great Britain and Ireland, and on the Continent of Europe, and had his full share of the "sufferings" of the early Friends. On the "6th Day of the 3d Mo. [May] 1682" he was married to Elinor Lowe. After traveling in the ministry a few months, Roger Haydock "settled his wife at Warrington," 1682. "In the 5th mo. [July] 1687 he removed his wife and family from Warrington to Brick Hall in Penketh" [South

³ Neither of these names appears on modern maps. See *Penna. Mag.*, viii, 332, 333; Futhey and Cope, "Hist. Chester Co., Pa.," pp. 430, 431.

⁴ According to Penn's liberal plan, each servant would have fifty acres of land when his time should expire.

⁵ Comly's *Miscellany*, Vol. vii, 15-19, 1835.

Lancashire], which continued to be his home till his death in 3 mo [May] 1696." ⁶

In her account of her "convincement" Elinor Lowe says of Roger Haydock that her acquaintance with him began "nigh from the time of my convincement . . . he being at the first Meeting I was at, when I received the Truth, altho' I could not say I was begotten into the Faith by him as a Father, yet can say, he was to me a faithful instructor and furtherer of me in the work of God as well by conversation as by ministry." Of a somewhat later date (1677) she writes, "About this time the Lord raised a concern of love in our hearts, each to other, relating to *marriage*. In which concern we felt the Lord's special hand to order us. It continued betwixt us for the space of five years." ⁷ In the meantime she, too, became a minister among Friends. It will now be well to say something about Elinor Lowe's lineage. Her mother was Elinor, daughter of Richard Gerrard, of Crewood Hall, near Frodsham, Cheshire. She married Robert Lowe and became the mother of Elinor [Jr.], John, and probably of Robert [Jr.], who was apprenticed to Phineas Pemberton at Bolton. Her brother John, like herself, became an active friend through Roger Haydock's influence. ⁸

That Elinor Lowe, the daughter, was a woman of some property is probable from the fact that James Harrison, father of Phebe (Harrison) Pemberton, in a letter of 1681, says, "I am about to bargain for my house, in case I should go with William Penn." And he expressed a wish that Elinor Lowe might purchase it, that "it might be preserved for the Lord's service." ⁹ It might be well to remember that there were two

⁶ "Collection of the Christian Writings, etc., of Roger Haydock," London, 1700, pp. 207, 210, 214. See also Journal George Fox, Cambridge ed., ii, 493, 494; and also for John Haydock, *Ibid*.

⁷ Writings of Roger Haydock, as above, "Elinor Haydock's Testimony Concerning her Husband," pp. 3, 5.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁹ Comly's *Miscellany*, vii, 22.

Elinor Haydocks, for the wife of Robert Haydock, a brother of Roger, was also named Elinor.¹⁰

Mary Becket, concerning whose parentage there has been so much doubt, according to the Parish Register of Middlewich, Cheshire, was the daughter of John Beckett and Mary Brundrett [Brandreth ?]. Her parents were married "4th of May 1671, and their daughter Mary was baptized on the 1st of October 1673. The Parish Records also tell us that Mary's mother was buried the very day of her infant's christening. What became of her father is not known."¹¹ Elinor Lowe, then living at Newton, near Middlewich, adopted the child, probably as an infant. Whether she undertook the charge from pity, or from relationship, or because she wished for the companionship of a child, we do not know. That she was a Friend at the time is shown from the dates given in her Testimony to her husband, Roger Haydock. Shortly after this the Lowe family moved to Crewood Hall, which had been the home of her ancestors. There appears to have been some sort of pre-nuptial agreement between Elinor Lowe and Roger Haydock, for the latter writes to Phineas Pemberton, "10th 7 mo [September] 1695," "Now as to accounts on Mary's behalf . . . as we concluded before we married to give Mary 100 l., so it was placed for her."¹²

Mary Becket evidently was a member of the Roger Haydock family until her departure for America. Concerning this, Roger Haydock, in his own name and that of his wife, writes from Warrington on the "7th 4 mo [June] 1684," to Phineas Pemberton in Pennsylvania:

Along wth y^e bearer hereof cometh daugh^r Mary, as by y^e enclosed to thy fath^r which on purpose I leave unsealed thou may understand: To yo^r care wee comit her . . . and place you as in our stead; w^{ch} wee rest in hope you, that as a fatherly & motherly care over her, whom we truly

¹⁰ Writings, etc., of Roger Haydock, p. 214.

¹¹ *Penna. Mag.*, xi, 246.

¹² *Penna. Mag.*, x, 482. Owing to a combination of unforeseen circumstances, all this money, together with savings of interest, was lost. *Penna. Mag.*, xi, 245.

love, & who comes in her owne inclinacions for those p^{ts} to w^{ch} inclinacions wee have condescended. . . . And although shee come with H. B. [Henry Baker] . . . y^t if you see better to settle her either at her Arivall, or within a year's tyme, or more or lesse, wee impower you so to do, & w^t you do is & shall be accounted by us as if wee did it our selves.¹³

An enclosure dated at Liverpool on the 16th of the same month speaks of Henry Baker's detention by "a wicked priest," probably on account of tithes due, and adding:

. . . However, since our daughter Mary cometh along I entreat thy care of her when it shall please god y^t shee arives there; and wee fully . . . leave y^e disposeall of our daught^r to thy fath^r moth^r thy selfe & thy wife, even from the very day of her arrivall; and of yo^r care wee are not doubtfull. . . . I only add if it seem good to you y^t our daugh^r abide a little wth Marg^t Baker . . . wee are satisfied . . . & hope shee may in tyme be in a capacity of some place of p^rferm^{nt}, or at least of a place, wherein shee may be of more service—yet wee leave all to you; and shall account w^t you do, as if wee did it ourselves. . . .

On the "20th 6 mo [August] 1686" Roger Haydock writes again to Phineas Pemberton:

. . . I have also Answered thy mind or Desire given about Mary, whom wee . . . have comitted to yo^r care we leave under yo^r care, hoping shee will comply wth y^r Advice & Answ^r you in our names, as if wee were p^rsent to requyre, order or dispose of for her good . . . wee received her love by her owne hand expressed, wth love Answering it, & desire she may improve her handwriting.¹⁴

So far the letters which throw light on the coming to America of Mary Becket. Though she could have been an inmate of Roger Haydock's house barely two years, Roger Haydock and his wife uniformly call her "daughter," and she herself always speaks of them as "deare father and mother." So far as it has been possible to examine the correspondence there is no intimation even of the actual relationship. Moreover, in a letter of Jane Biles, a Friend visiting England, in writing from Liverpool, "3d mo. [May] 25th, 1703," to Mary (Becket) Bowne, says,

¹³ *Penna. Mag.*, x, 482.

¹⁴ *Penna. Mag.*, x, 482. As Henry Baker arrived at Philadelphia with his party, he somehow got released from the "wicked priest's detention."

"we were at thy dear mother's house."¹⁵ Doubtless these facts helped to strengthen the tradition of her being the daughter of an Elinor Percy. As Mary Becket had never known her own mother, it is natural that Elinor (Lowe) Haydock should take that place in her affections.

As Mary Becket was born in 1673, she was about eleven years old when she came to America, which accounts for Roger Haydock speaking of her as of a child, as has been seen. In other letters he says, "Shee is growing up and wee hope in a little tyme may be capable of doing some kind of service;" "I cannot promise to myselfe y^t y^e child's stay for any considerable tyme wth H: B: [Henry Baker] can turn to her profitt." "As to her table wages the Agreement wth H: B: was onely for one year, w^{ch} wee were free in because of his trouble in taking her over, then she was left to you."¹⁶ It would seem, therefore, that Mary Becket was to pay the Bakers for their care of her during the voyage to America by living with them and waiting on the table. These household duties were not considered at all derogatory, being looked upon in the nature of an apprenticeship. Whether Mary Becket was longer with the Bakers than one year, does not appear. The fact that she was mature enough to desire to emigrate on "her owne inclinacions" which were regarded by her adopted parents implies a precocious child, which may account for the fact that the Bakers apparently wished to keep her two years, but the decision was left by the Haydocks to the judgment of the Pembertons. Mary Becket probably after a little more than a year, became one of the family of Phineas and Phebe Pemberton, remaining with them till her marriage in 1691. She evidently was treated as a daughter and a strong mutual attachment sprung up which lasted through life.¹⁷

(To be continued.)

¹⁵ From MS. memoranda.

¹⁶ *Penna. Mag.*, xi, 124, 125.

¹⁷ See the correspondence in BULLETIN, Vol. VII, pp. 85-89.

ROGER HAYDOCK DEBTR
TO
PHINEHAS PEMBERTON
FOR
DISBURSEMENTS ON ACCTT
OF
MARY BECKET¹

		£	s	d
	The ballance of an acctt sent thee			
	dated the 22 $\frac{12}{mo}$ 1687	01	15	06 $\frac{3}{4}$
	To monys not yet Rcd for the			
	sughars (?) first sent & sold to			
	Wm: Berry who marryd Naomy			
	Walley	02	00	00
	pd Jacob Hall for i paire shooes.	00	05	00
22 $\frac{10}{mo}$ 1688	5 yds of linnen at 2 ^s 10 ^d pr yd	00	14	02
	Linsey woolsey 3 yds at 3 ^s 6 ^d pr			
	yard & three (?)	00	10	06
	pd John Brock on her acctt	00	04	00
	Scotch Cloth for a fine shift 3 yds.	00	08	06
	whale bone y ^d (?) att	00	02	03
24 $\frac{8}{mo}$ 1689	Linnen Cloth 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ yds at 2 ^s 6 ^d p y.	00	13	09
	Linnen & Cotten 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ yds at 2 ^s 6 ^d			
	p yd	00	06	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
30 ditto	i paire of shooes att	00	05	00
	Woole 8 lbs att 15 ^d p lb & Lent 3 ^d	00	10	03
	i lute string hood cost 9 ^s 3 ^d ; i			
	say (?) apron 6 ^s	00	15	03
	to Griffith owen for physick	00	01	00
	Indico [?] att	00	00	09
	Linnen Cloth $\frac{3}{4}$ yrd att	00	01	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Cotten 6 yds (?) att 15 ^d p y	00	07	06
	Laces 6 at 9 ^d ; i paire of shoos 5 ^s	00	05	09

¹ From the original in possession of the editor.

	1 pc filliting att	00: 03: 06
	Cotton 5 yds at 6 ^s 3 ^d flax 1 lb	
	at 18 ^d	00: 07: 09
	1 Rideing frock of Dyed Callico	00: 11: 00
	one large white Apron 8 ^s	00: 08: 00
	more linnen 3 ^s 9 ^d thrid & silk 4 ^d	00: 04: 01
	3 bookes 18 ^d , 2 coifes 2 ^s	00: 03: 06
12 $\frac{3}{\text{mo}}$	1 bgo stuf, 1 yrd 6 nailes to couer a paire of staies with at at 3 ^s 6 ^d	
	pr yd	00: 04: 09 $\frac{3}{4}$
	silk & thread 3 ^d Lin Cloth 1 $\frac{11}{8}$ yrd	
	at 6 ^d	00: 03: 01
	taylors work 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ days att	00: 06: 06
	flax 6 bs att	00: 00: 08
	Cotten $\frac{1}{2}$ lb at 9 ^d 1 lb 20 ^d	00: 02: 05
25 $\frac{4}{\text{mo}}$	1 bgo Cotton & linnen 1 $\frac{1}{8}$ yrd att	00: 03: 04 $\frac{1}{2}$
31 $\frac{5}{\text{mo}}$	tape 7 ^d ; sizer [?] chaine 6 ^d	
	pins 10 ^d	00: 01: 11
	sizers (?) 1 paire 6 ^d lases 6 ^d	00: 01: 00
	muslin 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ yds att 6 ^s	00: 12: 06
	Riben 6 ^d ferrel (?) Riben 9 ^d	
	threed 3 ^d	00: 01: 06
	1 barmoodoes bonnet 2 ^s 6 ^d blew lin	
	3 yds 5 ^s	00: 07: 06
	tape 3 ^d Lane (?) 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ yrd at 3 ^s 6 ^d	
	pr yd	00: 05: 03
	Kniting needles for	00: 00: 06
	2 paire of shoos att	00: 10: 00
	Transported	14: 06: 10
		<hr/>
		£ s d
	Summe Brought over	14: 06: 07 [sic]
	Linen $\frac{3}{4}$ yrd att 2 ^s 3 ^d lent in	
	mony 4 ^d	00: 02: 07
	taylor work	00: 04: 10
	Crape $\frac{1}{2}$ yrd 1 yrd att	00: 01: 04

dyed Crape 1 yrd att00: 03: 06
 Blew linnen 2 yds att00: 06: 00
 threed 3^d pd G. owen for physick
 4^s00: 04: 03
 ditto pd Roger Parke for physick
 and his visit in her sickness00: 06: 00
 wine 1 qrt att00: 02: 00
 alamode silk for a hood band &
 linneing her bonnet 2¼ yds &
 Ribon 1½ yrd all at00: 14: 00
 woole ½ lb att 7½^d thread 1^d
 thread 9^d00: 01: 05½
 Laces ½ doz att00: 00: 06
 Serge for a Rideing gowne 5 yds
 att 6^s 6^d pr yrd att01: 12: 06
 Silk 5½^d & buttons 2 doz 1^s Riben
 1½ yrd 9^d00: 02: 02½
 taylors work for making the Gown.00: 02: 09
 serge 2^s Linnen & Cotton 1½ yrd
 4^s 6^d00: 06: 06
 1 Knife 1^s [something erased] ...00: 01: 00
 thread 3^d 23 $\frac{1}{mo}$ 90: 1 pr shoos 5^s.00: 05: 03
 1 pr pattens at 2^s thread 5^d02: 05
 1 shift at 6^s needles 5^d Crape 3^s 6^d
 1 yd00: 09: 11
 ditto ¼ yrd 10½^d satin Riben [?] .00: 05: 03
 tape 10 yds 15^d pins 3^d00: 01: 06
 White duble Crape 4¼ yds at
 3^s 6^d p yrd for a petecoate00: 14: 10½
 thread 2^d 2 hankirchifs 6^s00: 06: 02
 payd Henry Baker for one yeares
 dyet04: 07: 06
 pd Henry Baker for weaveing for
 her00: 09: 06

8 $\frac{3}{mo}$ 91

22

26: 00: 07½

11 y ^e $\frac{7}{mo}$ 1691	1 silk for a scarfe $2\frac{1}{2}$ yrd at	1: 04: 09
	1 Sarcenet hood att	0: 12: 00
	holland 5 yds for 2 shifts att	
	6 ^s pr yrd	1: 10: 00
	fferet Riben $7\frac{1}{4}$ yrd att	0: 00: 09
	1 Side Saddle with furniture viz	
	bridle croupper girths brest plate	
	&c.	2: 03: 00
	whale bone att	00: 02: 06
	thread 1 ^d linnen Cloth 3 ^s	00: 03: 01
	1 paire shooes att	00: 05: 00
	more cloth 5 ^s 9 ^d thread $2\frac{1}{2}$ ^d	00: 05: 11 $\frac{1}{2}$
	duble Crape 6 yds att 3 ^s 9 ^d pr yrd.	01: 04: 00
	woole $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. att 8 ^d	00: 00: 08
	ditto Crape white 5 yds 3 ^s 6 ^d	
	pr yrd	00: 17: 06
	Copperas 2 lb att	00: 00: 01 $\frac{1}{2}$
11 y ^e $\frac{7}{mo}$ 1691	1 stuf gown & pettecoate with	
	trimming taylor worke att	03: 17: 00
16 ditto	thread $\frac{1}{2}$ $2\frac{1}{2}$ ^d silke 1 ^s 8 ^d	00: 01: 10 $\frac{1}{2}$
	serge for a hood & mantle 4 yds.	01: 06: 00

Transported39: 14: 10

£ s d

Summe Brought over	39: 14: 10
1 paire of Shooes 5 ^s flax 2 lb	
3 ^s 4 ^d	00: 08: 04
white Linnen 2 yds 5 nails	00: 04: 03
cotton & linnen $\frac{3}{4}$ yrd	00: 02: 06
thread 4 ^d white thread $2\frac{1}{2}$ 15 ^d	00: 01: 07
gallone 1 yrd att	00: 00: 06
taffety & ferret Riben 2 yds 7	
nails	00: 01: 03
(?) linnen $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ yrd att	00: 01: 10 $\frac{1}{2}$

green silk 8^d Hemp lane $\frac{3}{4}$ yrd
 2^s 3^d00: 02: 11
 needles00: 00: 03
 Taylor work for makeing one
 gowne pettecoate hood mantle
 waste coates & stays & 9 days ..01: 04: 00
 duble crape white $13\frac{1}{4}$ yrds at
 3^s 6^d pr yrd02: 06: $04\frac{1}{2}$

44: 08: 08

three (?)00: 00: $04\frac{1}{2}$
 Hemp lane $5\frac{1}{2}$ yrds att 5^s pr yrd..01: 07: 06
 narrow scotch Cloth 3 yrds at 3^s 6^d..00: 10: 06
 blew linnen $3\frac{1}{4}$ yrds att 2^s pr yrd..00: 06: 06
 musling 1 yrd att00: 06: 00

Cuntry acctt46: 19: $06\frac{1}{2}$

But being reduced to English makes

= 37^l: 11^s: 06

Rog^r Hadock pr Cont Creditor £ s d
 Red by Shadrach Walley01: 04: 06
 By bill payable to Sam Carpenter
 or ord^r wch if payd is20: 00: 00

Cuntry acct21: 04: 06

Being Reduced to English acctt makes

16^l: 19^s: 06^d

So that there Rest due to Ballance

in English mony 20^l: 12^s: 00....20: 12: 00

wch is in Cuntry..25: 15: $00\frac{1}{2}$

day

The 23 8 mo 1691

DEARE FATHER AND MOTHER

I have had the perusal of the Above mentioned and do know it to bee
 a Just And true account for I have Received the goods there in Contained
 and desire that you may take Ceare to Reimburse his Charge ffor If you

do not then I must take Ceare to do it my selfe which I hope you will Consider will fall hard upon mee in our yong beginning² but having no dout of youre tender Regard which hither to hath beene largely manifested to wards mee which is and all wees Shall bee Kindly and Regarded by mee who am in endeared love youre duteiful douter.

MARY BOWNE

A REQUEST OF PRINCETON STUDENTS TO RACHEL WILSON, OF KENDAL, 1769.¹

The following interesting document has been communicated by Norman Penney, of London. For some account of Rachel Wilson see the next article.—EDITOR.

MADAM.

Nassau Hall, May 20th, 1769.

We, whose names are subscribed, students of the College of New Jersey, would regard it as a singular obligation if you would favour us with a sermon on Monday next, at whatever time of the day you may please to appoint as most suitable. Some circumstances render it in some measure difficult for us to do ourselves the pleasure of hearing you to-morrow. Your compliance, Madam, will be most gratefully acknowledged by your hbble serv^{ts}.

Elihu Thayer	David Zubly	James Linn
Caleb Russell	William Willcocks ³	P. Kettletas
Jas. Wilson	Thos. McFerrin	Saml. Baldwin
Hunloke Woodruff	Josiah Pomeroy	Peter DeWit
John C. Ogden	Andrew Lott	Jesse Reed
Thomas Melvill	John Henry	Alexr. Moorhead
Andrew Hodge	F. Freelinghousin ⁴	Jno. Blindenburg
Nathl. Erwin	Stephen Tracy	Nathan Penking (?) ⁶
Saml. Niles	Saml. Spring	Ebenezer Finley
Bedford Williams	S. McDougall	Jno. Campble
John Smith	Edm. Cheesman	Mathias Williamson
John A. McDougall	George Smith	Moses Allen
James Taylor	Jno. Taylor	Jno. R. Davis
Phillip (?) ²	Samll. Harzard ⁵	Gunning Bedford ⁷

² As Mary Becket was married "4th of 8th mo 1691," this letter was written soon after.

¹ From Gibson MSS., iii, 85, in Friends' Reference Library, Devonshire House, London.

² Undecipherable. ³ Probably a well-known citizen of Philadelphia.

⁴ Present spelling *Frelinghuysen*. ⁵ Probably, *Hazzard*. ⁶ Indistinct.

⁷ Doubtless the distinguished citizen of Delaware, Gunning Bedford (1747-

Joseph Ross
James Green
Samuel Smith

Isaac Smith
Azariah Horton
Hugh Craig

Joseph Eckley
Henry Waggamaman
Caleb Wallace.

Addressed: "To Mrs. Rachel Wilson
Present."

Endorsed: "Request from the Students of Nassau Hall in New Jersey, May 20, 1769."

RACHEL WILSON OF KENDAL.

1722-1776.

NOTES AND INCIDENTS OF HER VISIT TO AMERICA, 1768-1769.

Rachel Wilson (1722-1776) was the daughter of John and Deborah Wilson, of Kendal, Westmorland, England. She married Isaac Wilson, son of Anthony and Dorothy Wilson, of Highwray, near Hawkshead, who had moved to Kendal in his youth.¹

Rachel Wilson was recorded a minister when eighteen, and in the course of her life traveled considerably in the ministry. In 1768 she visited America. She landed at Philadelphia Tenth month 16, 1768, and remained in the colonies a few weeks over a year. "Her journey in America was performed almost entirely on horseback. It was a journey of many thousand miles through districts then very imperfectly cleared, in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Virginia, North and South Carolina, New York and New England. Her simple narrative (still preserved amongst the family records) gives a vivid picture of the toil and occasional peril then to be encountered in passing through dense forests, in some places almost impenetrable, in the fording of deep rivers where the horses were often obliged to swim, and in many other hardships."² One incident of the southern journey is thus described in her journal:

1812), who was in the Continental Congress, 1783-1786, a member of the Constitutional Convention, and signer of the Constitution, 1787.

¹ "Piety Promoted," Isaac Wilson, iii, 147, Phila. ed.

² J. B. Braithwaite, "Memoirs of Anna Braithwaite," London, 1905, p. 42.

"12th month 16th, 1768. On 6th day morning we set forward on our journey, though the prospect was very discouraging. The snow was so thick, and the trees so laden that many were broken down, and the road was almost stopped up in places. My horse being full of spirit rushed through the snow, that I often was in danger of being thrown off, and before I had ridden a mile, a large tree, under which there was not room for him and me to pass, took me quite off. I fell into a hollow way with my head down, where I must have perished, if help had not been at hand. But my kind companion was soon off his horse, ready to assist, and, being strong and willing to exert himself for my relief, soon got me out of the snow, and I found myself able to walk, though my leg was much crushed. I got on to my horse and made a shift to ride fifteen miles to one Samuel Woods, that kept an inn where they behaved kindly, and I had my leg bathed and gave it what relief I well could. Having a mind to sit with the neighbors that were inclined to come, notice was given, and a large meeting we had in the evening, which the great Master was *pleased to own with His presence to our admiration and comfort.*"³

The southern journey just referred to was begun soon after her arrival at Philadelphia. Her companions of this long and even perilous undertaking were Samuel Morton, of Philadelphia, and Sarah Jenney [Janney?]. They appear to have made Charleston, South Carolina, their southernmost point. The following letter throws considerable light on her services, and also refers to the accident just mentioned:

RACHEL WILSON TO ISRAEL PEMBERTON.

Charlestown, 2d mo: 1769.

... After a journey of twelve weeks from Philadelphia we arrived here last fifth day where I agreeably met with thine of the 13th of 12th mo: as also that of the 19th of 1st mo: both which contributed to my satisfaction and proved as cordial drops to revive my drooping spirits which was at the time low enough; though I have no just cause to complain having been favored in every respect far above my desert, yet we have met with our trials in many respects. The fall I had from my horse was not one of the least as my leg was much bruised and the skin broke, yet I bore riding pretty well that we did not lie by any on that account, though many thought I must have rested before it would be healed,—had

³ "Mem. Anna Braithwaite," as above, pp. 43, 44.

not faith been strong I had certainly fainted. I cannot help viewing it almost next to a miracle myself, that I was enabled to get along so well under such a great disadvantage scarcely able to point the ground with one foot for upwards of a month,—in a poor part of the country where we did not abound with many superfluities in either meat or drink yet preserved in patience and resignation to the Divine will believing that all things would work together for good which we have evidently experienced in our steppings along under every trial. May we ever remember with humble gratitude the many wonderful deliverances and bless and praise the great name of our God, who hath thus far sweetened every bitter cup and qualified for service called to, above some of our expectations, having visited at the back settlements where there's any that bears our name unless one and many places beside, where we were kindly received and I hope some lasting impressions left behind, that can now look back with satisfaction and thankfulness of what is past. Samuel Morton hath proved a true help meet. I have often had cause to believe he was of the Great Master's preparing for the work whereunto he had been called, as also Sarah Jenney (Janney?) who hath also proved agreeable in all respects that we have travelled together in great harmony. We have had several meetings here to satisfaction, the hearts of the people seem open to receive us, and the doctrine we have to deliver both in public and private having been favored in many families of what is called the greater sort, that cannot but acknowledge we have met with an opened door than I expected in this place, being very much cast down in my coming here under a sense of my own weakness which I ever desire to be thoroughly acquainted with in order that my dependence may be entirely upon Him that is alone sufficient for every engagement He calls to. The account thou gives of Daniel Stanton and thy brother John was pleasing; it's certainly doing the will whereby we come to know more and more of the Heavenly doctrine,—its work I love, that of visiting families—believing it to be of singular service to the church, where it is rightly gone about and entered into. My dear love to them both. I hope to be at liberty to leave this place tomorrow and return towards the north. It's probable we may reach West River [Maryland] Yearly meeting, but that cannot be determined at present, if we should be favoured to get well along. I've met with so many interruptions in the writing of this that I doubt thou'lt have difficulty to stammer it over, but as it's the production of pure love I shall not make any apologies, but conclude with the tenders of unfeigned love to thee and thy dear wife in which my companions unite with.⁴

Thy truly sympathizing friend

RACHEL WILSON.

⁴ From a MS. copy of the original letter in the Library of the Histor. Soc. of Penna.

It was on her return journey that she called upon Patrick Henry, the distinguished Virginia statesman, at this time thirty-two years old, but already famous for his Stamp-Act speech of 1765. The entry in her journal is as follows:

3d mo. 31st 1769. On our return to our quarters at night we called by the way to see one of the Assembly men, who was a man of great moderation, and had appeared in Friends' favour. His name is Patrick Henry. He received us with great civility, and we had an open time in his family, after which he made some sensible remarks.⁵

Rachel Wilson must have reached Philadelphia not later than the early part of Fifth month, 1769. She then started on her visit to New York and New England, taking some meetings of New Jersey on the way. One of the early halts was Trenton, from which place she went on to Princeton where she received the "Request" given on page 24. The following extract from her journal is, so far as known, the only reference she makes to her Princeton visit.

Was at Mtg at Trentown it being Courtime Meny of ye Lawyers Came & great was ye favour Extended to us yt day Dined at Wm Morris whear we had a seasonabl oportunity at table after came to Isaac Clarks 11 miles Lodgd thair in ye morning had some servis Before we came away Visited Sam worth who was in a fever was at Stony Brook Meetg which was much croudd with all sorts of peopl whear Divin goodness was Graciously Pleased to Reach to meny with his Living Powerful truth to the strengthing of our faith in his own Devin arm finding My Self not quite clear apointd a meetg at half Past four which was held in the Colledge to prety good Satisfaction tho so Crowdd that a good part stoud ye Students Behaved well and several of em Came and spoak to me after we loged with Joseph Horner Dined with Richard Stockden a Lawer who with his wife was very kind.⁶

One can but regret that no mention is made of the students' "Request." It would be interesting to know how it was received and how answered, but this will have to be left to conjec-

⁵ See also Wm. Wirt Henry, "Life of Patrick Henry," i, 117, where this incident is described.

⁶ Copied from the original, *verbatim et literatim*, by Rachel Wilson's great-great-granddaughter, Anna B. Thomas, and contributed by her.

ture. As the 20th of Fifth month, 1769, came on Seventh-day the reason for the students asking for a special meeting on "Monday" was probably because no meeting could be arranged for Sunday. Whether the appointed meeting she refers to was that requested by the students does not appear.

The data for an extended account of Rachel Wilson's travels in New York and New England are not at present available, but some glimpses of her journey can be given through the following letters and memoranda:

JOHN PEMBERTON TO HIS WIFE.

New London, 6 mo. 6th, 1769.

MY DEAR:—

I arrived here last evening from the east end of Long Island with the two women friends, W. Franklin, Geo. Bowne, J. Pearson, and another friend. We had a fine wind and sailed upwards of 30 miles in less than 4 hours and are now through mercy all bravely. I have craved to be thankful that I enjoy a quiet mind and better health than for some time before I left home and though have travelled diligently have not been much fatigued nor my horse who holds it well, except that his back is bruised, and friend Wilson likes brother Israel's horse well. We were at two meetings last 6th-day and one on 7th day and rode about 38 or 40 miles. On first day had meetings, two of them we stopped as we rode along the road, one was a meeting house of a people called separatists held under the trees, where divers young people and some few elders staid, but divers went into their place of worship though their minister not there, appeared shy of us, yet to those that attended the Truth was freely declared, and we passed on and stopped at another meeting house and at the conclusion of their worship the minister gave liberty to speak. It was a large congregation and they heard with attention, though in that part of the island they were much strangers to friends, and yesterday we had a large meeting at Southold and Truth favored therein and we are just come from a large meeting much favored in the Presbyterian meeting house.⁷ . . .

⁷ From a MS. copy of the original letter in the Library of Histor. Soc. of Penna.

JOHN PEMBERTON TO HIS WIFE.

Newport, 6 mo. 13th 1769.

MY DEAR:—

In my last per Captain Anthony I acquainted thee that I, with the friends arrived safe here about 10 at night 7th inst. in good health, which through Divine favor is yet continued to me. The yearly meeting here ended last evening and through its several sittings both for worship & discipline was favored with the Divine presence, which is cause of renewed thankfulness. It's thought here to have been the largest meeting known for many years; the house here is very large but could not contain the people by a great number. Great numbers not professing with us attended and behaved with sobriety and solid attention in the general, and friend Wilson was favored to speak to them with clearness and Divine authority. She is favored with a strong constitution and supported greatly, and she omits no opportunity of discharging herself and is happily preserved solid and watchful, and her offerings both public and private seasoned with the salt of the covenant. Meetings are now given out until next 2d day, 2 in the day on our way to Dartmouth whence we propose to take shipping for Nantucket, that I cannot yet tell when, my dear, to look for me. . . . George Bowne and Jos. Pearsall set off his morning by water for New York. I did propose to have sent a line by them, but I lay too late this morning, for I was a little spent last night with the long meetings we have had from day to day, beginning generally at 7 in the morning and little intermission till night, tho I was up before 6 o'clock, but that is a late hour for me to lay since I parted with thee.⁸ . . .

In accordance with the plan mentioned in the preceding letter, Rachel Wilson and her companions, John Pemberton and Sarah Hopkins, visited Nantucket.⁹ While on the island she was instrumental in settling a long-standing dispute which had brought discredit upon the Society. The matter is referred to in the following memoranda:

Memoranda many years afterwards by Moses Brown of Providence, throw some light upon this case of difference and show how it was at length terminated.

Notwithstanding the foregoing letter the affecting case continued for fourteen years after, when Rachel Wilson was at Nantuckett She pre-

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ L. S. Hinchman, "Early Settlers of Nantucket," p. 322.

vailed to have the case of a half share of land which was Stocked double to the injury of most of the Islanders, left to a Committee as they were called. Viz. Stephen Hopkins, Thomas Steere, Wm. Redwood, Benjamin Arnold, Edward Shove & Moses Brown, who in the fall of 1769 attended, heard the Claims on both sides, Examined the Record, stated the Case and gave their Decision which terminated the case; the stock on one side was withdrawn & the Person was acquitted of Surreptitiously getting a deed on Record by which one party claimed, for it appeared the opposite parties' papers were also recorded by the same Penman.

On reading the foregoing letter I penn'd this memorandum this 26th of 5th mo 1823. In recollection of the sorrowful case tho' I was not then nor till several years after a member among friends, and to the credit of Rachel Wilson & the Influence of hir divine Master this Settlement was made, for it was thro' her wise & Discreet management and Influence she prevailed on Stephen Hopkins & me to undertake to go and attend to the Business. It was my lott to examine the Record and in so doing a worthy man then a minister, Elisha [?] Coleman was cleared of the charge made against him which fully paid me for my trouble and care in the business at the time: which I mention to the memory of Rachell Wilson as without her favoured influence as an Instrument the work would not have been effected.

She was indeed a wise and favoured minister and an Apostle of Usefulness to me.¹⁰

MOSES BROWN.

It seems likely that Moses Brown's memory was at fault as regards the name of the individual. Some research has failed to discover any *Elisha* Coleman, but there was an *Elihu* Coleman, a minister, and prominent Friend living on Nantucket at the time of Rachel Wilson's visit, and it is probable that he was the man. He was one of the early protesters against slavery. (See Smith's *Catalogue of Friends' Books*, I, 439.)

Moses Brown here mentioned was the celebrated merchant and manufacturer of Rhode Island, the great philanthropist, the benefactor of Brown University, after whom, with his brother Nicholas, it received its present name. He also was almost the founder of Friends' Boarding School, Providence, Rhode Island,

¹⁰ This paper was communicated by Norman Penney. It is in Portfolio 21, 95, Friends' Reference Library, Devonshire House, London, E. C.

and which in his memory was given its present title, "Moses Brown School." His long life of ninety-eight years (1738-1836) was one continued period of benevolence wisely administered. The last paragraph means more than appears on the surface, for it was through Rachel Wilson's ministry more than anything else that he was brought into the Society. "At Providence, Rhode Island, a member of the Assembly attended a meeting at which she was present, and was much impressed under her ministry. Being unwilling to admit that he had been so much influenced under the ministry of a woman, he attended several other meetings where other ministers were present, but was at last obliged to confess that it was under the ministry of Rachel Wilson that he was first effectually reached. This was Moses Brown."¹¹ He became a member with Friends in 1774.

The Stephen Hopkins (1707-1785) mentioned as a member of the committee, was one of the ablest statesmen of Colonial days. He was four times Governor of Rhode Island, Chief Justice, and the holder of many other offices of trust. He was member of the Continental Congress (1774-1780), and a Signer of the Declaration of Independence—his shaky signature, due to palsy, is one of the most conspicuous of the list. He was a Friend, a member at least, for he does not seem to have held Friendly views as to war. He was disowned in Third month, 1773, for refusing to set free a negro slave-woman. This is a curious circumstance, for he afterwards became a strong advocate for the abolition of slavery.

Rachel Wilson appears to have visited some meetings in New York on her return journey to Philadelphia, for there is a tract bearing the following title: "A DISCOURSE delivered on *Saturday*, the 10th day of *August*, 1769. At the Friends' *Meeting-house*, in Beekman's Precinct, *Dutches County*, in the Province of New York. By the celebrated RACHEL WILSON, (One of the People called *Quakers*) To a numerous Audience of different Persuasions. Taken in Short Hand, from the Mouth of the *Speaker*, by one of the Audience."

¹¹ "Mem. of Anna Braithwaite," p. 44.

"New York: Printed; Newport, Rhode Island; Re-printed and sold by Solomon Southwick, in Marlborough Street. 1769." 12mo.

Rachel Wilson reached Philadelphia in time to attend the Yearly Meeting at that time held in the Ninth month. The following anecdote is related of her:

"In the Yearly Meeting . . . held at Philadelphia, in the 9th month, 1769, . . . she appeared divers times; and once, when she was about to express something relative to herself, she signified she was led from her own concern to speak to our friend John Woolman, who was under a concern to visit some of the islands. She addressed him with much sympathy, and ardently wished the good hand might be with him; and enable him to divide the word aright, to the honour of the great name, the comfort of those among whom he had to labour, and his own lasting peace. And for his encouragement, she testified, that as she steadily eyed her great Master from day to day, she had been in no lack of anything; but he had been altogether sufficient.

In the concluding sitting, she imparted much solid advice, particularly to elders, whom she compared to the golden snuffers under the law, that were made of the same beaten gold with the lamps; and remarked that if a proper use was made of the snuffers, by taking away that which dimmed the lustre and was superfluous, the light would burn and shine clearer and brighter. But some were so fond of snuffing, that they at length wasted the life of the candle, and had sometimes put it out."¹²

The estimation in which she was held is shown also by "A Farewell to Rachel Wilson," by John Drinker, then Clerk of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. It is written in verse and extends to ten stanzas, forty lines in all. The spirit pervading the lines is commendable, but it is evident that the author lacked the poetic gift; one stanza will suffice.

"Cloth'd with the love that makes the lily white,
Thy fervent labors, WILSON, have been bless'd,
Or this FAREWELL had never seen the light,
Nor thus a fellow worm had thee address'd."¹³

¹² Comly's "Miscellany," viii, pp. 221, 222.

¹³ Comly's "Miscellany," iv, 239.

The exact date of her sailing cannot be given, but it was early in the Eleventh month, 1769, as implied in the following letter of her husband:

ISAAC WILSON TO JOHN PEMBERTON.

Kendal, 22d of 3d mo. 1770.

DEAR FRIEND:—

Thy favor of the 18th of 11th mo. last which came to hand some time ago, ought not to be passed over in silence, as it was expressive of so great regard for my dear wife and anxious desire for her safe passage across the great ocean, again to be favored with meeting the tender connections she had left behind, which for a season had been suspended for the cause's sake which in due time was accomplished to our mutual joy and rejoicing, of which I doubt not our valuable friends on your side the water will be apprised before this time and that the account will be truly acceptable. I hope our rejoicing on this occasion has not been without fear and trembling which has covered some of our minds, at times, under a sense of the many preservations both by sea and land and how wonderfully she was furnished with ability both inwardly and outwardly to get through the arduous engagement in so short a time, much less than I expected at her setting out. . . . It is now about three months since my dear reached her own habitation in less than six weeks from the time of her leaving Philadelphia, and since her return she has been favored with as good a state of health as at any time since we first joined hands very little if any impaired in her bodily strength which is what I could not have expected, but rather that after she had settled at home, she would find the effects of so close and almost incessant labor, but very little of this has appeared, and all our family have been favored with the like enjoyment which is a blessing highly to be prized. . . .

Both the certificates from your meetings and thy own account as an individual, give me great satisfaction to find thereby that her steppings along in the service in your parts was so satisfactory to friends and that she was so aided to proceed therein and that the renewings of strength continued to the conclusion thereof, at least to her own peace and comfort, is a matter of thankfulness to my mind.

The tenderness and great care extended by friends in order to render outward circumstances as easy as possible was doubtless of great service to her, of which I retain a grateful sense, particularly thy accompanying her so long in her eastern journey, thy brother Israel's lending her his own beast in order that she might be well accommodated in that respect, and Samuel Morton's leaving his family so long to accompany her

in the long southern journey, all which were very agreeable to her and singularly helpful; these, with many other marks of regard she experienced, will not easily be erased from our remembrance, and I hope your reward will be of an higher nature than anything I can do by way of return.¹⁴ . . .

Rachel Wilson's own feelings on her return safely home are thus expressed in the concluding words of her journal:

My husband met me at Lancaster, where we parted, and great was the thankfulness, that filled both our minds under a sense of the many preservations both by sea and land. I found all my children favoured with health. My husband had not had one day's illness during my absence, nor I whilst on the continent of America.¹⁵

"She died, aged 54, in the house of Richard Chester, at Stoke Newington, near London, having been a minister thirty-six years, and her remains were interred at Bunhill Fields. She left eight children, and through them numerous descendants, many of whom became devoted Christians, and centers of influence, both in the Society of Friends and outside its borders."¹⁵

It is evident from all that has come down to us that she was no ordinary woman. The verdict of a Philadelphian is no doubt true, "She was a remarkably interesting and eloquent speaker and was much admired by people of all classes."¹⁶

CERTIFICATE OF REMOVAL FOR LETITIA PENN, 1701.

From our Monthly Meeting held at our Meeting House in Philadelphia the 27th of the 7th Mo. [September] 1701.

To our worthy & well beloved Friends & Sisters in London, Bristol, or wherever these shall come—Grace Mercy & peace from God the Father be greatly multiplied amongst you all—

¹⁴ From a MS. copy of the original letter in the Library of the Histor. Soc. of Penna.

¹⁵ "Mem. Anna Braithwaite," p. 45.

¹⁶ *The Friend* (Philadelphia), xx, 108.

Amen.—These may certify you that our loving & well beloved friend Letitia Penn, intending to cross Seas with her honorable Parents, has for good order sake desired a Certificate from us & we can freely certify all whom it may concern that she hath well behaved herself here very soberly & according to the good instruction which she hath received in the way of Truth being well inclined courteously carriaged & sweetly tempered in her conversation amongst us—& also a diligent comer to Meeting. & we hope hath plentifully received of the Dews which has fallen upon God's people, to her settlement & establishment in the same—she is clear from any engagements on the account of marriage, as far as we know, & our desires are earnestly for her preservation that she may faithfully serve the God of her Fathers, that so her green years being seasoned with grace, may bud blossom & bring forth ripe fruit to the praise of God, and the comfort of his people, which is the true desire of your friends & Sisters in the near relation of the unchangeable Truth.

Signed in behalf & by appointment of the Meeting. (Copied by H. L. 4 Mo. 1811.¹)

NOTE.—Letitia (1678-1746) was the fifth child of William and Gulielma Maria (Springett) Penn. She seems to have been a lively and self-willed girl. She is often referred to in Penn's letters as "Tishé." She accompanied her father to Pennsylvania in 1699, and insisted on returning to England with him in 1701. She married William Aubrey, of England, in 1702. Though satisfactory to her father and step-mother at the time, William Aubrey was a most troublesome and exacting son-in-law. Penn speaks of him as "a scraping man that will count interest for a guinea." He died 1711, and Letitia survived him fifteen years. There were no children.

After the above certificate was granted, James Logan says, "It was discovered of her . . . that she was under engagement of marriage to William Masters," some of the signers were so dissatisfied at what they had done that it was proposed to retract it. William Penn, Jr., said, W. Masters "could prove no engagement." See H. M. Jenkins, "The Family of William Penn," pp. 61-66; "Penn and Logan Correspondence," i, 128, 130-136.

¹ There is an incomplete copy in "Penns and Peningtons," p. 399.

BOOKS OF INTEREST TO FRIENDS.

Swarthmore Lecture. The Day of Our Visitation. By William Littleboy. Published for the Woodbrooke Extension Committee by Headley Brothers, Ltd. [London], 1917. 7½ x 5 in., pp. 62. 1s.

This little volume, the eleventh of the series, is at once the shortest and perhaps the most striking. It is a message rather than a lecture or an historical study, and cannot be judged by ordinary canons of criticism. It treats of the "Promised Parousia [presence, or second coming] of Christ; The Urgent Call to Watchfulness; The Work before the Society of Friends; A Personal Appeal; and a brief Appendix on the Attitude of the Society of Friends in regard to the European War." This eloquent and able appeal is strongly commended to our readers.

William Penn, Founder of Pennsylvania. By John W. Graham, M.A. Illustrated. London, Headley Bros., Ltd. New York, F. W. Stokes. 8½ x 5½ in., pp. 332. 6s, net, \$1.75.

This, the most recent life of William Penn, is for the general reader, and indeed for all who wish in one volume to get a fairly well-rounded picture of Penn, the best life that has appeared. It is written by a Friend who not only approaches his subject from a Friendly point of view, but also understands the currents and counter-currents in Quaker history, as no outsider could understand them. The author states that "No original investigation into MS. sources has gone to the making of this volume," but it must be said that he has shown considerable skill as a compiler, and that he has produced a well-balanced and interesting work. The definitive life of Penn will not be written until the great mass of material accumulated by Albert Cook Myers is available to students. The character of William Penn will always be a subject of controversy. The wide field in which he moved; his strength and his weaknesses; his clearness of vision in most directions; his curious shortsightedness in others; his trustfulness in his friends, so great that it became a serious blot; his statesmanship, and yet his inability to read character; his noble adherence to freedom of conscience and religious liberty; his sweetness of spirit, and, above all, his deep spirituality, form a character so complex as to make a correct representation well-nigh impossible. The author of this Life is to be congratulated on the extent of his success.

The twenty-four illustrations are well chosen, though some have not been very successfully reproduced. The text, at the foot of the view, "Friends' Meeting House and School" (facing page 191), is an error. The buildings represented were in *South* Fourth Street, not at "Fourth and Arch Street," as stated. "Arch Street Meeting House" was not built until 1804. The note on page 264 gives the impression that in Penn-

sylvania alone among the colonies was there religious toleration; this is incorrect, for in Rhode Island there was complete religious toleration—the only colony in which Jew or Christian, unbeliever or heathen had equal rights and privileges. The map facing page 128 represents no particular period, and so is likely to cause misconceptions. It would have been better for it to be strictly early colonial, in which case Vermont, West Virginia, and Baltimore would not appear. The account of the nomenclature of the streets of Philadelphia (p. 156) is not quite correct. The names have been changed several times. Race Street was once "Sassafras," and Arch Street "Mulberry," and some others once bore different names. The north and south streets were at one time numbered from the Delaware River only as far as Broad (the fourteenth). West of Broad Street they were counted from the Schuylkill River ("Schuylkill First" and so on up to "Schuylkill Eighth," now Fifteenth Street). There was no First Street at the Delaware end, Front Street taking its place. The change to the present names was made officially in 1853. On the same page (156, note) reference is made to a statue of Penn "depicted on the cover of this book," but it is not given there. Chester has always been in Pennsylvania, not in the "Lower Counties," as stated on page 284, and implied on pages 155, 161.

The author seems to accept the tradition that the treaty with the Indians at Shackamaxon was a *general* treaty of amity, but there is little or no substantial evidence for this view. An account is given on page 190 of an interview of Penn with William III., and it is stated that we owe this narrative entirely "to Croese.¹ Clarkson, Besse, and Janney all mention it, but Paget, in his "New Examen" (pp. 340-347), disposes pretty effectually of the incident, showing it could not have taken place at the time stated. Croese, the authority for the story, was unfriendly to the Quakers, and made other errors which the English Friends officially corrected. In his account our author conjectures what the word "resentments" means in a letter which Penn is said to have received from James II. Had he been more familiar with seventeenth century English, or had consulted the Oxford English Dictionary he would know that in Penn's time "resentment" had a good as well as a bad meaning. Here it doubtless means simply his "appreciation," or "what returns" he would make.²

The date of Penn's second marriage (p. 237) by a typographical error is given as 1655-6, it should be 1695-6. On page 107 *Alchmaar* would be

¹ *General History of the Quakers* (English translation of 1696), Part 2, p. 112. For corrections made by English Friends, see Appen. pp. 25-40.

² Compare Oliver Cromwell's use of the word in a letter of 4 February, 1650: "A testimony of very high respect and honour . . . which deserves a fuller return, of deep *resentment*, value and acknowledgment," etc. "Letters and Speeches," Lomax's ed., ii, 180.

better Alkmaar as more consistent with the spelling of the other names as well as more usual. It tends to convey a wrong impression to rank Penn's "Fruits of Solitude," and Franklin's "Sayings of Poor Richard" with Tupper's "Proverbial Philosophy" (p. 212). The latter is a succession of platitudes, while no one can charge either of the first two with that fault. The discussion of the "subliminal self" (pp. 89-91) would better have been omitted. Not a few Friends would object to the somewhat dogmatic statement of "what the Friend means when he speaks . . . of the Light of Christ within," etc.

But these errors and oversights are trifling compared with the general excellence of the work. An Appendix, consisting of a "Note on Macaulay"³ and a good Bibliography, a Chronology, and a fairly good Index, completes the volume.

President Wilson, His Problems and His Policy. By H. Wilson Harris. London, Headley Bros., 1917. New York, F. W. Stokes. 7 x 5 in., pp. 278. 6s, \$1.75.

This volume is by a Friend, a nephew of Dr. J. Rendel Harris. To write contemporary biography is always a hazardous undertaking, and the question arises whether some modifications would not have been made in *this* volume had the publication been delayed six or eight months. The work must be characterized as partaking to a great extent of a panegyric. This is neither the time nor the place to do more than notice some impersonal statements.

The author shows more than usual knowledge of American affairs and makes very few serious errors. He appreciates far more than most of his countrymen the importance of our great West. Though his account of our system of government is nearly correct, it is clear that he does not fully understand it in action, especially in regard to the relations of State and Nation legally, politically and in elections. He is naturally so taken up with foreign or international relations that he scarcely recognizes the importance of many domestic problems; among these is the great and difficult Negro question which is ignored. In fact, domestic administration is scarcely touched upon. He is in error in thinking that our Ex-Presidents are "an embarrassment."¹ Hayes, Cleveland, Harrison, and Taft have been, each in his own way, very useful citizens, while John Quincy Adams performed his greatest service when an Ex-President. He is in error in ascribing, as he seems to do, the introduction of the

³ In this note Paget's "New Examen" is called "quite a small book," hardly a correct designation of a volume of 308 pages. This work of Paget also forms a part of his "Paradoxes and Puzzles," London, 1874.

¹ It is certainly allowable to ask why they should be a greater embarrassment than a British Prime Minister is in England.

"Group Elective System" in university education to the influence of Princeton. It was due to Johns Hopkins University which adopted it in 1876, twenty-five years or more before Princeton. Bryn Mawr College also, and others long antedated Princeton in this. It is not true that "the voter backs his party ticket solid." The author fails to recognize the power of the independent voter or how often he has used this power, particularly in State and local elections. Indeed, in the last Presidential election there were many instances of independent voting which exercised great influence. He greatly overestimates the value and work of "Primary Elections," and apparently is not aware of the increasing doubts of their advisability. The Index leaves a good deal to be desired. The book as a whole is an interesting study and reflects credit on the author.

The Religions of the World. By George A. Barton, Professor of Biblical Literature and Semitic Languages in Bryn Mawr College. University of Chicago Press, Chicago [1917]. 8 x 5 in., pp. xi, 349. \$1.50.

This volume is one of "The University of Chicago Publications in Religious Education—Handbooks of Ethics and Religion." Like all the books of the author, it is a scholarly work. It presents the most recent views of the various subjects treated. Its scope is extensive, its two extremes being Primitive Religions, and Christianity. It seems to be intended for somewhat advanced students, and is provided with references for "Supplementary Reading," lists of "Additional Books for the Use of the Teacher," "Topics for Further Study," etc., and an "Outline of a Book to be written by the student." There is a full Index.

The Annual Monitor for 1917. From October 1, 1915, to September 30, 1916. John Bellows, Gloucester, 1916. 5½ x 3½ in., pp. x, 189. 2s.

This is the 105th issue of this little annual. With the exception of Professor George Henry Emmott, for a number of years a Professor at Johns Hopkins University, and Dr. Silvanus P. Thompson, the physicist of world-wide reputation, few names will be familiar to American Friends. There is, however, the record, as in previous years, of the faithful service of many. A sad and unfamiliar note is in the Preface: "In the past two years, since the commencement of the War, we have had to record the deaths of several members of our Society who have given their lives at 'the Front' in their country's service. This year the number of such has sadly increased, there being upwards of thirty recorded in this volume." There are twenty-two excellent portraits.

Chronicles of Pennsylvania from the English Revolution to the Peace of Aix La Chapelle, 1688-1748. By Charles P. Keith, author of "Provincial Councillors of Pennsylvania," etc. In two volumes. Philadelphia,

Patterson, White Co., 1917. Two volumes, 10 x 6½ in., pp. viii, 981 (paged continuously). Price, \$5.00.

This work has been received too late for more than a brief notice. The question naturally arises, why was not the work begun with 1681? His previous books have shown that the author is well equipped for such a work as the present. In his work the Quakers play an important part. Even a casual review indicates that exception will be taken to not a few of his statements. There is a regrettable lack of references to authorities and sources.

Early Philadelphia. Its People, Life and Progress. By Horace Mather Lippincott. With a Photogravure Frontispiece, and 119 Illustrations. Philadelphia and London, J. B. Lippincott Co., 1917. (Limited edition printed from type.) 9½ x 6 in., pp. 340. \$6.00.

This handsome volume contains much of interest. The numerous illustrations are well selected, and unusually well reproduced. The work, like Watson's Annals, is topically arranged, a system which necessarily involves more or less repetition. There is evidence of considerable search for material, but the work cannot be called historical, for fact, fiction, and tradition are almost indistinguishable and few authorities are given. This is to be regretted, as the work will be quoted as an authority by some readers. The title of the book is somewhat misleading, for some matters of comparatively late date are included, as, for instance, the Philadelphia Club, founded in 1833, and the history of cricket in Philadelphia.

In a brief review like the present it is natural that errors rather than excellencies should be noticed. The following may be pointed out: "William Sewell" (p. 15) should be "Sewel;" the Quaker printer spelled his name "Crukshank," not "Cruikshank" (pp. 45, 220); Ann Warder's account of the dress of Friends (p. 53) is repeated (p. 66). Did the Quakers ever claim Benjamin Franklin as one of their number (p. 73)?

The incident narrated on page 277, is attributed to "Captain Whitall," without the slightest authority, and those who were intimate with Captain John M. Whitall (1800-1877) know that the story is wholly incompatible with his character. Moreover, he can in no sense be ranked, as he is, with "early Quakers." His descendants will resent the ascription of the story to him. Independently of the wrong ascription, for the author to style such an anecdote, "A story characteristic of the temperament and training of early Quakers," is to do the early Friends the greatest injustice. The author knows little of Quaker history if that is his real opinion.

The notice of Benjamin West (p. 67) is based on Galt's Life of Benjamin West,¹ which has, with much justice, been characterized "as containing more mythical incidents than any book, purporting to be historical,

¹ Life of Benj. West, by John Galt, London, 1816.

published during the nineteenth century." ² Benjamin West liked to speak of himself as a Quaker, but he never was a member with Friends. His father, though of Quaker birth, was not a Friend when he came to America, and his mother was disowned about the time of her marriage or earlier. His father joined Friends in 1759, twenty-one years after the birth of his son Benjamin. The story given of the action purporting to have been taken by Springfield Meeting in regard to the artistic efforts of the youthful West is apocryphal on the face of it. The so-called address of John Williamson was doubtless the work of Galt himself who knew how to tell a good story.³

The author evidently likes to tell a good story himself, but he has not been careful enough to investigate sources. It requires courage to spoil traditions, especially those which are attractive and which have been often repeated, but the true antiquarian and chronicler "sets his teeth and goes ahead;" gives the story, it may be, but classifies it relentlessly.

What is Quakerism? By Edward Grubb, M.A. Published for the Woodbrooke Extension Committee. London, Headley Bros., Publishers, Ltd., 1917. 7½ x 4¾ in., pp. 244. 2s. 6.

This book deserves a longer notice than is possible to give. The author meets an obvious criticism by saying in his Preface, that he "has written throughout from the standpoint of an English Quaker and has made little or no attempt to indicate the rather different positions of the various bodies of Friends in the United States and Canada."

There may be different opinions regarding the author's treatment of the various subjects presented, but there can be but one opinion as to the general fairness and tolerance of his book. His explanation of the Inward Light is clear and helpful. "Faith in the Inward Light [does] not mean that everyone must do that which [is] right in his own eyes, and that there [is] no common moral standard (p. 41)." "The Inward Light of the Quakers . . . was the light in their souls of the living *Christ*, and they never intended to separate this from the life and character of Jesus when on earth (p. 126)."

The chapters on the philanthropic, social, educational and missionary enterprises are valuable. The author's remarks on socialism deserve thoughtful attention. His conclusion that socialism *as yet* offers no clear alternative to the present system is based on substantial foundations. The chapter on "The Present Outlook" is suggestive. There are two useful Appendices and a good Index.

² H. G. Ashmead, Hist. Chester Co., Pa., cited in *Penna. Mag. of Hist and Biog.*, xxxii, 2.

³ See *Penna. Mag.*, xxxii, 1-30, G. Smith, "Hist. Delaware Co., Pa., p. 5-12; Futhey and Cope, "Hist. Chester Co., Pa., p. 761; Bulletin Friends' Histor. Soc., iii, 50.

NOTES AND QUERIES

SAMUEL ROWLAND FISHER.—“The Journal of Samuel Rowland Fisher, 1779-1781,” noted in the last number of THE BULLETIN, is continued in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. XLI, No. 2. As an account of a conscientious objector of the American Revolution it has special interest at the present time.

JOURNAL OF THE FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Since the last issue of the BULLETIN, two numbers of the *Journal* have appeared, Vol. XIV, Nos. 2 and 3. As usual, the pages are replete with Quaker information. One of the most interesting papers is that in No. 3, “A Private View of London Yearly Meeting in Sessions of 1818 and 1825.”

LECTURE ON THE QUAKERS.—A volume, recently issued by the Harvard University Press (1917), entitled, “The Religious History of New England,” is made up of lectures delivered under the auspices of the Lowell Institute. Among these is one on “The Quakers,” by Dr. Rufus M. Jones. It is in his usual excellent style, but is not as strictly historical as could be wished. It covers pages 179-201.

COTTON MATHER AND WILLIAM PENN.—The old “Cotton Mather

Hoax” has come up again, and again it has to be denied. A correspondence relative to the matter appeared a few weeks ago in the columns of the *Public Ledger*, of Philadelphia, and of the *New York Evening Post*, October 9, 1917. For the complete answer to this perennial hoax, see BULLETIN, Vol. I, 89; Vol. 3, 148. It is again denied by Worthington C. Ford in the *New York Evening Post*, October 11, 1917.

ISAAC SHARP.—An “appreciation” of Isaac Sharp, for twenty-seven years “Recording Clerk” or Secretary of London Yearly Meeting, appeared in *Friends' Intelligencer*, Philadelphia, Eighth month 25, 1917. It was illustrated by an excellent portrait. Every one who is acquainted with Isaac Sharp will unite in the words of appreciation.

Since the above was in type the sad news of the death of Isaac Sharp, Tenth month 9, 1917, has reached us.

SANDY SPRING MEETING, MARYLAND.—A brief, but interesting account of this meeting by Mary Bentley Thomas is given in the *Friends' Intelligencer*, Philadelphia, for Ninth month 8, 1917. Several instances of dealing with offenders are given with “testimonies of disowment.” At Brookeville, four miles from

Sandy Spring, President Madison and some of his Cabinet halted in their flight from Washington (Eighth month 24, 25, 1814), which became, as it were, a temporary capital. The Sandy Spring neighborhood has always been progressive; it was one of the very first rural communities in the United States to have a local telephone system, and has always been distinguished for good schools, and excellent farming. It was once a large settlement of Friends, and though their number is much lessened, a strong Friendly influence remains. The neighborhood is, however, still without railroad facilities, the nearest railroad being twelve miles distant, and there is no trolley system within several miles.

A LETTER OF WILLIAM PENN.—*The Dial* (Chicago) for September 13, 1917, in its "Notes for Bibliophiles," prints a letter of William Penn dated "Pall Mall, my birthday, 14th of 8th mo. 1709," to James Logan. The letter is a long one, and shows more irritation than is often the case with Penn.

The letter is intended to be given *verbatim et literatim*, but there are several obvious errors in transcription. The letter was recently purchased by John L. Clawson, a collector, of Buffalo, N. Y.

STILL ANOTHER COTTON MATHER-PENN HOAX. — Albert Cook Myers contributes to the Philadelphia *Evening Bulletin* of September 22, 1917, a forged letter, which, he says, appeared in England in 1907, purporting to be from Cotton Mather. It is addressed to "Master John Hutchinson," and dated "Boston Dec. ye 20th, 1682." It is concerning the attempt "to waylaye ye 'Welcome' with W Pen aboarde." This letter, as Albert Cook Myers points out, is a sequel to the old hoax. It is a transparent forgery, and is only mentioned here to warn the unwary reader.

GALT'S "BENJAMIN WEST."—Charles P. Keith, in his "Chronicles of Pennsylvania," noticed elsewhere in this number, makes use of Galt's story of Springfield Meeting and the youthful West (pp. 135, 136). It is another instance of how hard it is to correct errors, oversights, or fictitious statements that once get into print. (See page 42 of this number of the BULLETIN.)

HANNAH CALLOWHILL PENN.—The criticism in Keith's "Chronicles of Pennsylvania" regarding William Penn's second marriage, and of Hannah Callowhill herself (p. 369), is decidedly open to question, and will scarcely be accepted by many as just.

Bulletin of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia

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NOTE.—The editor does not hold himself responsible for any statement made in contributed articles.

All communications for the BULLETIN should be addressed to Allen C. Thomas, Haverford, Pa.

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JOHN KINSEY.—II.

1693-1750.

That the Governor's threat to drive Friends from the Assembly was not purely an empty one, is shown by a letter which he wrote to the English Government, considerably misrepresenting the situation, and recommending that all Quakers be made ineligible to official situations. This was intended to be private, but a friend of the Assembly got possession of it in England, and sent a copy to Philadelphia. Great was the wrath of the men who for half a century had felt themselves responsible for the conduct of affairs, and under whose management had developed the most thriving Province of the new world.

The "Gentlemen's Party," which was the title that the Governor's friends took to themselves, also girded themselves for the contest, and in the fall election of 1742 there was a great street fight in Philadelphia, the actual participants of which were a number of sailors for the Gentlemen's Party and a bunch of hard-fisted Germans for the Quakers. It is unnecessary to add that the Quakers triumphed both in the street contest and at the polls, and rather increased than diminished their great majority in the Assembly.

They also struck the Governor at another point. He was promised a salary by the Penns, whose agent he was, but this salary had to be voted by the Assembly. During the stringency of the contest the Assembly always forgot to place such an item in their appropriation bills, and for several years he nursed his wrath in poverty. But being now beaten at the polls he showed signs of yielding. He signed a bill which he had hitherto opposed, and a little salary was granted him. He signed another and the Assembly began to feel still more generous. Finally he gave way altogether, and all his arrears were paid. He got along very pleasantly with the Assembly during the rest of his official career. He was completely tamed.

The net results of the contest were a large increase of liberty for the people of Pennsylvania; the perfect maintenance of their anti-martial principles; the defeat of the Gentlemen's Party at their

own political game; the increasing strength among the people of the Quaker leaders in government; the triumph of economy and simplicity in the management of public affairs. John Kinsey's letters, full on the one hand of pious reflections, and on the other, of adroit political argument, had carried the day. The "Country Party," as his friends were generally called, had become supreme. One by one the claims of the Proprietors—who were now farming Pennsylvania for what they could get from it, in a very different spirit from that of their high-minded father—were cut down. The possibility of gaining political ends without the sacrifice of principles was beginning to answer the taunt of Governor Thomas that their theories were inconsistent with government. In 1747 Benjamin Franklin writes of the Friends as "that wealthy and powerful body of people who have ever since the war governed our elections and filled almost every seat in the Assembly." Evidently they were good politicians, and the contest with the Governor had resulted in a strengthening of their lines.

The Spanish War did not last long, but others came. The Governor used his authority as Captain-General to organize a voluntary force said by Franklin to consist of 10,000 men. On this the Assembly took no action. At various times the Governor asked the Assembly to aid in warlike expeditions and measures. On their part the Assembly frequently reminded the Governor that they were unable to vote any money for warlike purposes, and personally would contribute nothing in the way of service, but that they were loyal subjects of the King and acknowledged their obligations to aid in his government. Had they granted regular aid, war or no war, their position would have been greatly strengthened, but being given "for the King's use" in direct response to a call for military assistance, knowing perfectly how the money was to be expended, they cannot be excused from the charge of a certain amount of shiftiness.

The effect, however, was to save their fellow-members in the Province from compulsory military service, and from direct war taxes. They thus shielded the consciences of sensitive Friends, preserved their charter from Court attack, broke down the worst evils of proprietary pretensions, and secured large additions of lib-

erty. Whether or not the partial sacrifice of principle, if so it was, was too high a price for these advantages, was differently decided in those days, and will be to-day. An unbending course would but have hastened the inevitable crisis.

Matters went on in this unsettled way through the remaining years of John Kinsey's Speakership. The Assembly would appropriate money "for the King's use," and the King through the Governor would use it for warlike purposes, as all taxes in all lands have been used. If there were a direct tax asked for a definite military purpose it would be refused. Up to 1750 the Friends under Kinsey's leadership were reasonably consistent. Afterwards the difficulties increased, and after 1756 they gave it up and refused membership in the Assembly.

On the death of David Lloyd in 1731 the position of Chief Justice of the Supreme Court was offered to Isaac Norris, the elder, who declined. James Logan was then appointed, and he held the post till 1739. Jeremiah Langhorne followed him till 1743, when John Kinsey was appointed, and with him the line of Quaker Chief Justices ended. There is so little one can glean from the records of the doings of any of these men in this capacity that the history of the court and the competency of the Justices is largely a matter of inference. Logan had never had a serious legal education, and probably this was not demanded by the times. Kinsey was a lawyer of great learning, skill and probity, and the honor of the court doubtless did not suffer in his hands.

During these years he performed other public services of value. The continuous discussion with Maryland over the Boundary Line developed finally into a "war." A militia captain and surveyor in the interests of Lord Baltimore and Governor Ogle drew around him a band of ruffians, and in 1730 made an invasion into York County, driving out those who claimed allegiance to the Penn government. John Kinsey and Samuel Preston were appointed Commissioners to visit the Governor, asking that hostilities cease and that a temporary arrangement as to citizenship should be made pending a permanent settlement. Some progress was made, but the Maryland commissioner got Governor Ogle away from "the seductive influences of the Pennsylvania Com-

mission," and he left town without notice. The Pennsylvanians came home without accomplishing anything definite, but the "war" did not continue and the way was cleared for the future.

During the Speakership of John Kinsey a burning question was the issuance of Bills of Credit to be used as money. This was frowned upon by the Proprietors and by the English Government, but in a new country which imported so much more than it exported, the gold and silver were drained and the people had to resort to barter, to their great inconvenience. To meet this difficulty the Assembly had authorized loans upon land and plate of ample security, and upon this the bills had been issued. They never depreciated, and this could probably be said of the paper money of no other colony. The land was rising in value, and when orders came to call in the bills and Governor Thomas presented the directions to a special session of the Assembly, there was universal disapproval. They refused to withdraw the bills already out and insisted on reissuing them when matured. To issue such bills was the popular method of raising revenue for the Province, and though in general this was a dangerous policy, it was so carefully guarded that it worked well in Pennsylvania. John Kinsey was the great defender of the issue, and was for a long time a Trustee of the Loan Office which had charge of it.

His contest in this matter and his efforts to avert war, made him popular in the province, not only among the Friends and their close supporters, but also among the great mass of German voters. In a community with only a few Friends these voters would often select one as their representative, and the Friends always had a three-fourths majority in the legislature. In 1741, in the midst of the controversy with Governor Thomas, a serious effort was made to divert these German voters from the Quaker alliance. Conrad Weiser, the Indian interpreter, a man of great and deserved influence among them, wrote a serious address, telling them how deficient the Friends were in their "rendering tribute to Cæsar," and asked them to send in men who would do as the Governor wanted. The letter was widely circulated, but Kinsey's hold was unshaken and the Germans stood faithfully by their old friends.

The dispute between the Governor representing the Proprietors and the Assembly became in time very complicated. The Governor wanted money for war with the French and Indians. The Assembly refused. He wanted any money "for the King's use" raised by taxes. They demanded Bills of Credit. He wanted the Proprietors' property excluded from all taxation. They insisted that such property should stand with others. He wanted his salary. They declined to vote it while he was unsatisfactory to them. They demanded a knowledge of his instructions, for they were tired of working in the dark. He declined to show them. They wanted to have complete political rights even though they would not swear or fight. He insisted that such principles were subversive of government. They demanded pay to the masters for the indentured servants who had joined the militia without serving their full time. He balked seriously at the suggestion. Through this complex maze of difficult problems, John Kinsey steered his party wisely, unitedly and victoriously.

John Kinsey had his share in making the honorable history of the treatment of the Indians by the Friends of Pennsylvania. The days of trustfulness by the red men were over. They had seen too much of the vices and greed of many of the settlers to repose entire confidence in them. They had learned, too, that there were two tribes of white men, the French and the English, who were eagerly bidding for their friendship. They were inclined to keep peace with their neighbors of the Province and good treatment would cement this inclination into an indissoluble bond. The Quaker Assembly voted willingly large appropriations for Indian presents. It meant also not to allow settlers on their lands, and to keep fire water from them. But the Penns and the Governor wanted their land for sale to settlers and cheated and debauched the Indians to secure some infamous titles. The iniquitous "Walking Purchase" of 1737 and the enforced banishment of the Minisink Indians from their ancestral home in the "Forks of the Delaware" gave a very ugly complexion to Indian attitude. Had the Quaker Assembly had their way, the desolating wars preceding the Revolution would almost certainly have been avoided and the seventy years of peace been extended by twenty more.

It would have been better for the Indians if a white man had never set foot upon the Province. Their conversion to Christianity, which had been cherished by Penn and his friends as a solution of the race question, had practically been abandoned. It was better to feed them than to fight them, but white avarice and white disease were fast demoralizing them. They had not learned to take kindly to reservations, and were powerless against the oncoming flood of settlers. The Quaker policy would have purchased their land piecemeal in advance of occupation, and paid them enough to satisfy them, or if they refused to sell would have kept the whites off the land. But the land belonged to the Proprietors, who had none of the broad-minded philanthropy of their father, and it was necessary to patch up the holes made by their shortsighted diplomacy in the Indian relations.

Their arrangements had been almost wholly with the Algonquin tribes of the Province. But about the time of John Kinsey's prominence it became evident that the Iroquois of New York were to become a factor in affairs. They claimed the sovereignty over the Pennsylvania Indians, were sworn friends of the whites and had resisted both the force and the bribes of the French. They had saved New York from an invasion from Canada, and all the colonies looked upon them with hope as a bulwark against French aggression. They must be liberally supplied with everything the Indian heart could desire. Conrad Weiser and the Governor hoped also that they could be persuaded to take French scalps in the lake region.

The first part of the policy was acceptable to the Assembly, but they would not countenance war measures. In response to a request to furnish funds the Assembly replied, "The Governor must be sensible that men of our peaceable principles cannot consistently therewith join in persuading the Indians to engage in the war. If it be thought there be any real danger of the Indians deserting the British interests and going over to the French, and that to preserve them steady in their friendship further presents are necessary to secure them in their fidelity to the Crown of Great Britain and amity with the inhabitants of this and the neighboring Colonies, and the Governor can think his health and busi-

ness will permit his negotiating this affair in person, we shall be willing to pay the expense to arise by it.

“JOHN KINSEY, Speaker.

“Fourth month 24th, 1746.”

The Governor, however, preferred to send a commission to Albany, with John Kinsey at its head, to join with agents of the other colonies in arranging matters with the six Nations. The New Englanders, who felt the brunt of French aggression, wanted to force the Iroquois to abandon their role of friendly passivity for active warfare, and in this they were encouraged by Conrad Weiser who had gone along as interpreter. New York was undecided and Pennsylvania actively hostile to this policy. John Kinsey argued that Pennsylvania had no interest in a war and would not sanction one unless the legislature acted favorably upon it; that such a war would open hostilities upon all the colonies; that other Indian tribes would be drawn in on one side or the other; that if the six Nations were persuaded to go to war by white influence it would be cowardly to desert them, and it was quite uncertain what the legislatures would do. New York seems to have been won by these arguments, and a divided conference did nothing, which is what John Kinsey desired. He probably averted a general war, or rather postponed it for a decade.

John Kinsey's useful life ended suddenly on May 12, 1750, at the age of 57. He had gone to Burlington, his old home, to plead in court, and was there seized with a stroke of apoplexy which carried him off in a few hours.

When John Kinsey died the days of real Quaker control of the government ended. The Legislature remained theirs for six years longer, and could have so continued had they not insisted on resigning when the Governor declared war on the Indians. But they had no leader who combined the absolute confidence of the meeting with the capacity to mould public opinion, and give wise judgment on public affairs. The “Quaker Party” fell largely into the hands of Benjamin Franklin, who had sympathy with their demands for political freedom, but none for their non-military spirit. Their counsels became divided. The successor to John Kinsey as Speaker, Isaac Norris, 2d, perhaps equally able

and trusted as a statesman, was more on the fringe of meeting activities. The more trusted churchmen were having an increasing distrust of the influences of public life and a rift developed between the political and ecclesiastical Quakers which made united action difficult. Whether John Kinsey, had he lived, would have been able to guide Friendly activities in politics in harmony with conscientious Quakerism, is a matter of speculation. But he must be regarded as the last great Quaker political leader.

There is not much to guide us in forming a judgment of the man apart from his external activities. Like the other great Quaker Chief Justice David Lloyd he left very little in the way of memoranda or letters by which to judge the man. Unlike him, however, he seems to have made no enemies and been open to no damaging charges. He belonged to a delightful social circle in Philadelphia, which John Smith describes so naively in his *Journal*, consisting of the Logans, the Norrises, the Pembertons, the Morrisises and others who combined broad intellectual sympathies with keen business instincts and honest interest in the affairs of state, who were the best group of citizens of the city and most active in all its developments. How much he was esteemed by these is evident from many little references, but by very few direct allusions.

His home after 1735 was "Plantation," an estate of twenty-three acres, fronting the Schuylkill, on the east side, near Gray's Ferry, the site of the present U. S. Naval Hospital. Here he retired when his many duties permitted. About two years before his death, his son John, a youth of great promise, was killed by the accidental discharge of a gun when on a hunting trip for ducks on the Schuylkill. This greatly saddened his last years.

ISAAC SHARPLESS.

AMERICAN INDIANS AND THE INWARD LIGHT.

Count Per Abrahamsson Brahe, intimate friend of King Gustavus Adolphus, and for some years a member of the Swedish Council of State, was much interested in New Sweden on the Delaware River, and in the various problems which the Swedes had to face in the New World.

Johan Printz, Governor (1643-1653) of New Sweden, felt that the best way to deal with the Delaware Indians was to kill them, and he believed that with two hundred soldiers he could "break the necks of every one on the river." Fortunately the Swedish government did not countersign such a program, but instead ordered Governor Printz to convert the Indian nations to Christianity. In this connection Count Brahe urged Printz to teach the Indians as children and to work on their imaginations through the ceremonies of the Lutheran service, for "outward ceremonies greatly affect such savage people."¹

It is impossible to say how Brahe came to his judgment that outward ceremonies would greatly affect the Indians, but his statement is mentioned here because it is so at variance with ideas long entertained by many Friends. When Thomas Chalkley (about 1706) was visiting the Indians on the Susquehanna River, Pennsylvania, he told them how Jesus "came to save people from their sins, and by his grace and light in the soul shows to man his sins and convinceth him thereof." To all of this doctrine the Indians gave assent, according to Chalkley, "and to that of the light in the soul they gave double assent, and seemed much affected by the doctrine of truth."²

The fact that the Indians gave ready assent to the doctrine of the Inward Light, and that it seemed to tally with their spiritual conceptions was mentioned by many early Friends, and is sometimes referred to by Friends of the present day. The conclusion often drawn is that the Friendly message and the Friendly type of worship are especially suited to the understanding of the

¹ A. Johnson, "Swedish Settlements on the Delaware," I, 377-378.

² "Journal of Thomas Chalkley, 1818," p. 73 or Friends' Library, vi, 20.

Indian. It may be that there was something in the Indian's conception of the "Great Mystery" and in his apprehension of the voice of conscience that provided a point of contact between him and early Friends. It seems perfectly clear that the early message of Friends, coupled with their consistent practice of the Christian virtues, made a very genuine appeal to him. Yet, on the whole, judging from the history of Friends' religious work among the Indians, it would seem that the Friendly message and type of worship have not made an extraordinary impression upon the Indian's mind and spirit. It is remembered, of course, that for the past fifty years the ancient type of meeting for worship has not been used at the Friends' Indian missions, except at Tunesassa, New York. On the other hand, the effectiveness of the work done by other bodies with more "outward appeal" has been often noticed by Friends. William Savery acknowledged the real devotion with which the Indians of western New York "sang their Maker's praise." Many Friends of many periods remarked upon the great hold that the Catholic ceremonies gained upon the Indian's mind. In several instances other denominations working side by side with Friends had far greater success in winning the Indians. In one notable instance a tribe that had been long served by Friends and helped much in a material way, was quickly won over, almost to a man, by a small sectarian group that made its chief appeal through somewhat ostentatious practice of certain outward ordinances.

Much care must be used, many attendant circumstances examined, in drawing conclusions from such historical data. Yet on the whole it seems safe to say that the religious message and method of Friends have not succeeded in any remarkable way in winning and holding the Indians. This is entirely apart from the very great effect upon the Indians of the Friendly *practice* of the Christian virtues. This is only a pin-point in the greater fact that the Friendly conception of worship without any program has made no appreciable headway among the great body of Christians, and has been disused by a majority of those who bear the name of "Friends" in the world. There seems, indeed, to be a tendency recently among "progressive" Friends and other Christians, to

recognize the value of silence in worship, but only *in conjunction with* the outward forms ordinarily in use. The present writer does not wish to draw conclusions, does not feel sure what conclusion ought to be drawn, yet he feels safe in suggesting that the impact made upon the world by the ancient type of meeting might now be suitably and profitably examined as an historical fact. This is taking for granted that the central idea of the typical Friends' meeting for worship is vitally and essentially connected with the Friendly conception of the real inwardness of religion.

In so far as the impact upon the Indian is concerned there is at least a good deal of historical justification for Count Brahe's belief that "outward ceremonies greatly affect such savage people."

RAYNER W. KELSEY.

ADDRESS AT THE CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION OF THE ERECTION OF TWELFTH STREET MEETING- HOUSE, TENTH MONTH 25, 1912.

BY JOSHUA L. BAILY (1826-1916).

I became a member of this Meeting in 1832, when my widowed mother and her six children were transferred here by certificate from Philadelphia Monthly Meeting. I have some recollection of the neighborhood at that time. On the block to the east of us—that bounded by Market and Chestnut and Eleventh and Twelfth Streets—there was but one house, and that was on the corner of Twelfth and Chestnut Streets. A large part of the remainder was covered by great trees. Near the centre, however, there was a broad open space where clay was being excavated and moulded into bricks. These bricks were burned in a kiln on the same block, and were used in the erection of four rows of houses—all extending from Eleventh to Twelfth—one row on Market Street, consisting of stores built on granite columns, and on Chestnut Street, what was at that day considered the finest block of private residences in the afterward city—and two other

rows of dwelling houses, one on either side of a new street opened through the centre of the square and named Girard in honor of the owner.

Many Friends' families lived within short distances from the meeting-house; a number lived on Chestnut and on Walnut Street, and some of the most spacious residences of Friends were on the north side of Market Street west of Ninth Street. Several on the cross streets were also largely occupied by our members, but Arch Street on both sides was the favored locality with the great majority. Now all the localities here named are given up to business.

In the yard on the north side of the meeting-house were two ancient willow trees (long since removed), and in a flourishing condition at that time was the elm tree whose lifeless trunk still stands just inside the brick wall near the south entrance—a sad and silent memorial of the early days when its wide-spreading branches covered the eastern part of the yard, and extended nearly to the line of the houses on the opposite side of the street. This tree which is a scion of the Treaty Elm at Shackamaxon, was planted here by Lindzey Nicholson, a member of the building committee, under whose superintendence this house was erected in 1812.

The three upper rooms in this house (since consolidated in what we know as the tea-room) were then occupied by a Friends' School, and I had the privilege of membership in the Infant Class. I remember very little in connection with this school, but this I do remember most vividly, that the excavation of the clay and the moulding of the bricks which was going on upon the other side of the street, and which I have already mentioned, was a most alluring source of entertainment to the boys and girls in the intervals between school hours.

A First-day School was also held in these rooms, which I had the privilege of attending. Among the teachers I remember were William M. Collins, Charles Yarnall, Marmaduke C. Cope, Susan Longstreth and Rebecca Singer—afterward by marriage Rebecca Collins, who was subsequently a beloved minister of this Meeting.

The property adjoining the meeting-house on the north, now the site of the William Penn Charter School, was then the spa-

cious residence of Abraham L. Pennock, and the large garden attached was noted for its rare collection of trees and flowering plants. Abraham L. Pennock was a prominent member of this meeting, and was most conspicuous as an abolitionist. He was an active officer of what was known as "the under-ground railroad"—a group of humanitarians engaged in the hazardous enterprise of assisting and protecting runaway slaves. John G. Whittier, who for two or three years resided in Philadelphia and was a regular attender of this meeting, although his membership was in Massachusetts, was an associate of Abraham L. Pennock, and the paper which Whittier then edited, *The Freedmen's Journal*, was the only newspaper published in this city which had the courage to espouse the cause of the runaway.

At the head of the ministers' gallery on this side of the house sat Alexander Derken, a minister originally from England—a tall and spare man dressed in dark cloth. I do not remember any characteristic of his preaching but this one—that whenever he quoted any scripture text which had reference to man, it was his habit to add "and consequently woman;" for instance, "'Man is born to trouble as the sparks fly upward,' and consequently woman."

Friend Derken kept a small trimming store on the east side of Ninth Street above Filbert, but he did not permit business to interfere with his religious duties. He was regular in his attendance of his meetings, and on leaving his shop it was his practice to pin a small piece of paper on the closed door containing these words, "Gone to Meeting." One of the chief commodities in which he dealt was woolen yarn for stockings. In those days everybody wore woolen stockings, usually home-made, and knitting stockings was one of the most conspicuous employments, I had almost said, recreations, of our grandmothers. They seldom went visiting, even for a call, without taking a bag with them in which they carried the knitting needles and balls of yarn. When Friend Derken returned from meeting and unpinned the notice from his door and opened his shop, he was usually followed by a group of women Friends who came to buy yarn.

Next to Alexander Derken sat two venerable Elders—Ellis

Yarnall and Thomas Wistar. Ellis Yarnall, the senior by some years, was quite below average stature and stooped, while Thomas Wistar was portly, erect, and vigorous for his years. In addition to this disparity there was a great difference in their attire, as Ellis Yarnall wore a suit of dark brown cloth, while Thomas Wistar dressed in drab. Each wore long grey woolen hose and small-clothes fastened just below the knee by buckles either of silver or steel with the addition of a silk bow, while larger buckles of like material adorned their low shoes. Ellis Yarnall, by reason of the feebleness of age, spoke rarely and then but briefly in business meeting, while Thomas Wistar was an active participant not only in our meetings for business, Monthly, Quarterly, and Yearly, but had from earlier years takes a prominent part in public affairs.

One or two of the most eventful incidents of Thomas Wistar's long and useful career may be mentioned. He was a member of the Citizens' Committee during the scourge of yellow fever which visited Philadelphia in 1793. Two other Friends were also associated in that self-sacrificing and hazardous service—John Letchworth and Daniel Offley. The latter in the midst of his usefulness was seized with the fever and died at the early age of 37. Thomas Wistar also took the fever, but was restored to health, and with his companion, John Letchworth, was spared for many future years of usefulness.

Thomas Wistar was again in similar service during the prevalence of the Asiatic cholera in 1832 when its virulence was at its height in Philadelphia. I very well remember that from a window in the back building of my grandfather's house on Filbert Street above Thirteenth (there having been no buildings at that time between his house and the City Jail then on the southwest corner of Broad and Arch Streets). I saw the rough boxes containing the bodies of the victims of this pestilence carried out for burial—and I remember, too, that at the close of a First-day morning meeting, Thomas Wistar spoke of the sad conditions then prevalent, and asked the women Friends to remain to designate some of their number who would be willing to meet that afternoon at the home of Thomas Loyd to make woolen garments

for the prisoners at the City Jail. It was a very unusual exigency that suggested this call, but it must be remembered that there were no sewing machines at that time, and all such work had to be done by hand.

When Thomas Wistar was a young man of only twenty-three years of age, he was associated with Bishop William White, Dr. Benjamin Franklin, Dr. Benjamin Rush and other eminent citizens of Philadelphia in founding the society for the Ameliorating of the Miseries of the Public Prisons, and on the death of Bishop White, the first president of the society, after fifty years' service, Thomas Wistar was chosen his successor in the presidency.

I have spoken of John Letchworth. He became a member of this meeting (Twelfth Street) late in life, and occupied the seat vacated by Alexander Derken. He was in feeble health and spoke seldom, and then but briefly. One communication was in these words, "Make me little, make me low; make me humble, keep me so."

Soon after the removal of the venerable John Letchworth, his place at the head of the meeting was occupied by our late Friend, the well-beloved Samuel Bettle, who for about two decades exercised his precious gift in the ministry to our comfort and edification. Not only in our meetings for worship, but at the bedside of the sick, and in the home of the bereaved, he was a messenger of sympathy and good cheer.

Some years ago meetings for worship were held not only on First-day mornings, but on the afternoon of that day in this house, as well as in all the meeting-houses of Friends in this city. On one summer afternoon, as my aunt, the late Mary Ann Loyd, was entering the meeting-house yard, she noticed a young man standing at the gate. Passing him she went to the door at which she usually entered, and was about to pass in when her attention was again attracted to the young man, and, retracing her steps, she accosted him with the question, "Would he like to go inside?" He replied that he would, and she then pointed him to the door on the men's side of the house and told him where to find a seat. At the close of the meeting the young man sought my aunt, thanked her for the privilege he had enjoyed, said it had been profitable to

him and added that he would like to know more about the Friends. My present impression is that this was a silent meeting, but on that point I regret that my memory is not entirely clear. My aunt invited him to accompany her to her house for further conversation. About half an hour later I met him in her parlor where he was introduced to me as William U. Ditzler. I further learned that he was a resident of Lebanon, Pennsylvania, a tailor by trade and seeking employment in this city. William could not at that time speak English with any fluency. He was familiar with German, but most accustomed to speak in the dialect of his home neighborhood, "Pennsylvania Dutch." He was a German Lutheran, conversant with the Lutheran, but not with the English Bible. He was soon introduced among Friends. Samuel Bettle, Marmaduke C. Cope, and others became interested in him, found him employment, and ultimately aided in establishing him in business on his own account as a merchant tailor. Many of you know the rest. He applied for membership in the Society of Friends, and after some delay was received. He became a recognized minister of the Gospel, and traveled in that capacity in many parts of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, much to the satisfaction of Friends. He was a very sympathetic and acceptable visitor, especially among the sick and the poor and in the cell of the prisoner, and I believe it may be confidently said of him, "He was a succorer of many."

Near the centre of the middle aisle sat Lewis Walker, the last member of our meeting who to my knowledge wore yellow top boots. These boots were distinguished by having the yellow underside of the leather turned outward forming a band of about eight inches in width which became very observable as his small-clothes only reached the tops of the boots. He was a flour merchant on Market Street, of whom I know little more than what I have gathered from the Friends' graveyard at Sixteenth and Race Streets, where in the rear of the Select School building is a grave marked by two stones. The headstone bears the name of Lewis Walker and on the footstone is this inscription, "Departed this life, 8 mo. 25th, 1854, in the 88th year of his age."

About the middle of the last century and extending well into

its closing years there lived in Filbert Street between Thirteenth and Juniper Streets, five Friends' families on one side of the street and five on the other side. It was sometimes called Friendsville. The most delightful social intercourse prevailed. Without naming these individually, I will designate as typical the heads of two of the families—Marmaduke C. and Sarah W. Cope, on one side, and John M. and Mary Whitall, on the opposite side. Not that these Friends were in any other way opposite to each other, for they were much united in whatsoever things were true and honest and pure and of good report. The social and religious privilege of the neighborhood was at times much enhanced by the presence of a number of English ministering Friends who made their homes, sometimes for long periods, under the hospitable roof of the Copes.

The Friends mentioned were greatly interested in improving the condition of the colored people. Both were managers of the Institute for Colored Youth, and were among the most active promoters of the Freedmen's Association. An adult school for colored people established by John M. and Mary Whitall on St. Mary's Street was an instrumentality of great benefit in that part of the city, and especially during the Civil War and near its close. After the death of his wife, Marmaduke C. Cope removed to Germantown, where his beautiful and beneficent life tranquilly ended in his ninety-fifth year.

The life of John M. Whitall was marked by so much that was unusual, almost picturesque, that I do not like to pass from it without further notice. At the age of sixteen he left school and entered upon a seafaring life. His first voyage was from Philadelphia to Calcutta, and in the few following years he made many voyages, mostly to ports in the East Indies and China, and very soon attained the position of Chief Mate. At twenty-four years of age he became the Master of a ship—an East Indiaman—the largest that had up to that time ever sailed from the port of Philadelphia. Through all these years he steadfastly adhered to the dress and speech and demeanor of a consistent Friend, and although he must have appeared as a speckled bird among the seamen with whom he mingled, it is his own testimony that he never

lost but always commanded their respect. At about thirty years of age, Captain Whitall quit the seas, married, and entered into mercantile business. Afterwards he became a glass manufacturer, in which he was very successful. The large means which came to him, he looked upon as the Lord's money committed to him for use and not to be buried in a napkin. To his last days he was still known among his familiar friends as Captain Whitall. It may be said of him without question that few, if any, seamen ever left behind a more unsullied record.

Thomas and Edwin George were two bachelor brothers who conducted the iron business at the northeast corner of Twelfth and Market Streets. They were members and diligent attenders of our meetings. They had also another brother—Jesse—who resided at Merion, and had two cousins, also bachelors, who, with themselves, were owners of large estates in the northwestern suburbs of the city. Jesse donated a large tract to the city, which now forms a part of Fairmount Park, and is known as George's Hill. Their joint or several estates were for the most part willed either for the establishment or aid of benevolent or educational enterprises.

Speaking of the estates of wealthy members, I must not omit to mention one other—Josiah Dawson—another bachelor; an exceedingly modest and unassuming man who left nearly his whole estate, said to have yielded about \$300,000 to his nephew, Mordecai L. Dawson, another esteemed member of this meeting, with directions to dispose of it at his discretion for charitable and educational purposes—an important trust which was administered with the utmost fidelity.

Seventy-five years ago there was no more eminent citizen of Philadelphia than Roberts Vaux, a member of this meeting, who at that time with his two sons, Richard and Thomas, occupied the seats at the upper end of the bench in the middle aisle of this house. He was educated at the William Penn Charter School, then located on Fourth Street below Chestnut, and on leaving school in his eighteenth year, he entered for a short time on mercantile life. But in no necessity to engage in business for a livelihood, and seeing about him so many opportunities for usefulness

to others, he made a solemn vow to devote himself to the service of his fellowmen, and most assiduously did he keep that vow. He was one of the originators of the Association of Friends for the Instruction of Poor Children; one of the founders of the Bible Association of Friends; one of the founders of the Frankford Asylum for the Insane, and was for sixteen years the treasurer of this Monthly Meeting.

At the period we have referred to, nearly all Friends in Philadelphia were members of the Whig party. Roberts Vaux was an exception. He was a Democrat. Party differences and prejudices were just as pronounced then, and party lines were as sharply drawn as they are now, but these political conditions in no wise affected his sympathetic and cordial relations with his fellowmembers. Instances were quite too numerous to mention in which was manifested his devotion to the interests of the religious society of which he was a member, as well from conviction as from the Providence of birth. But this denominational connection did not set any bounds to his benevolent activities. He was one of the founders of the Blind Asylum, the Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb, the Apprentices' Library, the Philadelphia Saving Fund and the Pennsylvania Historical Society. He was also a manager of the Pennsylvania Hospital; a director of the Girard Trust, a bank director, president of the Board of Control of Public Schools; president of the State Temperance Society, and secretary of the Philadelphia Society for the Ameliorating of the Miseries of Public Prisons.

Notwithstanding his devotion to so many philanthropic and educational objects, he found time for literary and scientific pursuits, for which he had great fondness, and was a member of many scientific and literary societies both at home and abroad. It is worthy to mention that in all these various relations, he maintained without compromise the dress and speech and demeanor which distinguished the consistent Friends of his generation.

It was at the very zenith of his public usefulness that this eminent benefactor of his fellowmen ended his earthly career. He died on the 7th of First month, 1836, within a few days of completing his fiftieth year.

Roberts Vaux was a personal friend of Andrew Jackson, and gave him active support for the Presidency, and when Jackson became President, he recognized the loyalty of his friend by appointing his eldest son, Richard Vaux, as Secretary to the Legation at the Court of St. James's. Richard Vaux was a youth of elegant manners and of prepossessing appearance. He had a full head of brown curly hair which fell in ringlets about his neck. He soon found a place in court circles and was much admired. This was before Victoria became Queen of England. She was known familiarly among her girl associates as "Vic," while Richard still bore the boyish name of "Dick," which he carried with him from America; and it was whispered here among the gossipers, much to the discomfort of the elder Friends, that "Dick had danced with Vic." It must be added in justice to Richard Vaux that he did not permit the social attractions to interfere with his official duties, which, we are assured, were discharged with credit to himself and to the satisfaction of his countrymen.

Among the aged Friends who occupied these gallery seats, I must not omit to mention, although it must be little more than naming them, George R. Smith, Jasper Cope, Thomas Kimber, Samuel F. Troth, Marmaduke C. Cope and Charles Yarnall, and on the lower seats here, Lindzey Nicholson, whom I have already referred to, Robert Smith, the editor of *The Friend*, commonly called for distinction "the square Friend," Charles Ellis, who always wore a most benignant smile, William Biddle, Thomas Loyd, and William Jones. The residence of William Jones and his wife when they lived on Arch Street above Eleventh was, I think, the resort of more young people than any other Friend's house within our limits. They were so kind-hearted and genial and made themselves so companionable to the young, that when any were about to be married they were almost sure to ask some one to nominate these Friends to be overseers of the wedding, so that in time William and Phebe Jones came to be almost a standing committee for the oversight of weddings.

The brief sketches which I have given relate mainly to individuals of whom I had personal knowledge. There were many others worthy of mention, had time permitted, but these instances

will, I think, suffice to indicate the character of a considerable part of the membership of this meeting—at least of the men's side of the house, to which my field has been limited.

The memory of these lives is a rich inheritance to be cherished by us and handed down to those who are to follow. We are admonished to be faithful to the duties and obligations of our day as they were to theirs. But our obligations are greater as are our opportunities, and greater as our facilities for performing them. Very limited in their scope were the opportunities and facilities of our forefathers. To us the world has become as one great neighborhood, and the doors for usefulness stand wide open. All mankind are our brethren, and we can have almost instant communication with them, and whenever we will, we may do them good. The world has need of us, and we should rejoice that we have "come to such a time as this."

ORIGIN OF THE QUAKERS AT SANDWICH, MASSACHUSETTS.¹

"June 2, 1762. This Acco^t. I was told by Rev^d. Ab^m. Williams of Sandwich. Origin of the Quakers at Sandwich. The Town settled about 1636 by Ten Proprietors. First Minister came from England, his name Mr. Leverech (not Leverett), educated in one of the Eng. Universities & Episcopally ordained; but like Mr. Williams of Providence,² waited for fuller Discoveries & was much of the Turn & Cast of the Seekers. His Chh. at first consisted of about 13 males. He infused this Waiting in Silence & Seeking Spirit into his people; and at last left them and went to the West End of Long Island where he died, & his Posterity are there to this Day. After he left them they met for Public Worship every Lord's Day & contented themselves with Ministrations

¹ From "Itineraries and Other Miscellanies of Ezra Stiles, D.D., LL.D., 1755-1794." New Haven, Connecticut, Yale University Press, 1916. Pp. 161, 162.

² Roger Williams.

of the Brethren & without a Minister for Ten Years fr. 1640 to 1650.³ Then they got a Minister. But before this a few with Mr. Holder at the head retired & separated from the Congregation & assembled in private house every Sabb. to wait in Silence for the Discoveries of the Spirit. The Marshal of Plymo. Colony disturbed them—upon which they retired to a Dingle or deep Hollow surrounded with high hills (called Holder's Hollow to this Day) & held their Meeting. Here the Marshall seized Mr. Holder & carried him to Plymo. Court where he suffered for his Religion. This incensed the whole party ag^t their Brethren and ag^t. the Legislature for the sanguinary Laws. And being Seekers unhinged, of no fixt principles, having no religious Complexion, but waiting; and the Quakers from England coming over in 1655 or thereabouts and declaring for the Spirit & ag^t sanguinary Laws, Holder & his party closed in & took their sectarian form. Tho' truly the quaker system was not yet fully formed to a Consistency, they scarcely knew w^t they believed. And this is the Source of Quakerism in Sandwich, & hence it propagated to Nantucket. Perhaps Holder's party might consist of about a Quarter of the people, or 5 or 6 Fam. for I question if [in] A. D. 1650 Sandw. had above 20 or 25 Families. The Quakers there now A. D. 1762 consist of 50 Families. I think I once read in the Journal of a Travelling Friend who was in Nantucket about 1700 & again in 1737 who says that when he was first there in 1700 there were but a small number of Quakers there, perhaps a dozen, but in 1737 were above a Thousand Souls Quakers."⁴

Ezra Stiles also gives estimates of the number of Church members in New England, among which is, "An Estimate of the Numbers of Quakers, Baptists and Episcopalians in New England, 1760."

³ See Jones, "Quakers in the American Colonies," pp. 25, 57, 58, 72.

⁴ Thomas Chalkley, who visited Nantucket in 1698 and in 1737; his own words, under date of 1737, are: "At Nantucket I had been about 39 Years before, at which Time there were only two Men and one Woman who joined with our Friends in Profession, and now it was computed there were about 1000 who went to our Meetings."—"Journal of Thomas Chalkley," Philadelphia, 1749, p. 293.

Friends in Rh[ode] I[sland] in 1755	14,000	
Incr[ease] by 1760	2,413	
	<hr/>	
	16,413	
Out of the Colony	10,600	
	<hr/>	
	27,013	27,000
Baptists in Rh. I. 1755	15,000	
Incr. by 1760	2,587	
	<hr/>	
	17,587	
Out of the Colony	5,220	
	<hr/>	
	[sic] 23,807	24,000
Episco[palians] in Rh. I. 1760	1,800	
Out of the Colony	10,800	
	<hr/>	
	12,600	13,000

"CHRISTOPHER'S HOLLOW."

ASA S. WING.

[The editor is indebted to Asa S. Wing, of Philadelphia, for the following notes regarding "Christopher's" or "Holder's" Hollow." Asa S. Wing is a native and now a summer resident of Sandwich, Massachusetts, and knows whereof he writes.]

I have no doubt but that the "Holder's Hollow," referred to in Ezra Stiles' "Itineraries," is what we have always known as "Christopher's Hollow." The place has been pointed out to me ever since I can remember. It is near a by-road which runs across from the main road which runs to the Cape [Cod] to the Cotuit road running south from Sandwich, and is, I suppose, between one and two miles south of east from the center of Sandwich village. It is so overgrown with scrub oaks now that the lay of the land is not easily discovered from the road. John H. Dillingham, in his address, Tenth month 10, 1907, at the 250th

anniversary of the Sandwich Meeting, thus refers to it, "The Friends held meetings where they best could—in private houses, as over here by this hill at William Allen's, and as tradition says, over there in the woods in Christopher's Hollow, which the Society ought now to possess and protect from further desecration." And before that in an editorial in *The Friend* [Philadelphia], he writes: "We had to postpone an intended walk to Christopher's Hollow in the woods where Christopher Holder, in 1657, preached from the hillside to an open-air Friends' meeting gathered in the hollow before him."¹

In "John Wing of Sandwich and His Descendants," some account is given of Friends, and the following words are used: "After this no one ventured to open his house for the accommodation of the preachers, and they were compelled to betake themselves to the fields. Tradition reports that many meetings were held at a secluded spot in the woods which from the preacher's Christian name, was afterwards known as "Christopher's Hollow," with this foot-note: "This spot is still much venerated, especially by the descendants of those ancient contenders for religious freedom." The late C. C. Waterman, in a public lecture, Seventh month 19, 1881, gave an account of his visit to the place some time before: "Several different growths from the stately original trees have given place to a thrifty grove of young oaks, and the large rock in the center upon which the preacher once stood has been moved and devoted to other uses, but the two rows of flat stones on the rising ground in front, where his auditors sat, are still there as they were placed at first."

A brief description of the Hollow will also be found in C. F. Holder's "The Holders of Holderness" [1903], pp. 68-70; also a photograph of the Hollow as it appeared in 1889 (?). The recollections of a visit paid to the place about twenty or twenty-five years ago by the editor correspond with A. S. Wing's notes.—EDITOR.

¹ *The Friend* (Philadelphia), Vol. 76, pp. 409, 410.

SAMUEL AND MARY BOWNE, OF FLUSHING, AND
THEIR FRIENDS.—III.*(Concluded.)*

As has appeared from a letter of 1693, already quoted,¹ Samuel and Mary Bowne contemplated a removal to Pennsylvania, partly at least on account of the marriage of Samuel Bowne's father, John Bowne, with whom the young couple made their home. It is not to be wondered at that on both sides there was much to make a joint family not a pleasant prospect. It is to this that the following letter refers:

SAMUEL BOWNE TO PHINEAS AND PHEBE PEMBERTON.²Flushing ye 13^{day} 6^{mo} 1693.

PHINEAS AND PHEBE

My dear and honourably Esteemed friends, to you with your dear Children does my very dear love flow this day benign [sic] Eminently engaged there to; dear Phineas thy love and Care over us doth ingage me for ever to Love and honour thee as a tender father; my business falls in so thick y^t I belive six weeks will pass before I can Leave it to come to see you and to conclude about my concern—I have about twelve Acres of fallow land near redy to Sow my hey to get and sider to make—then I hoop to come to you; my dear and I both long to get out of this house & others as much desire to see us out—friends generally are troubled to hear of our thoughts of removal—I am not yet fully satisfied concerning it but truly desire ye Lord may order and direct me in this Concern—I hoop these will find you all in good health as wee are—our son grows finely—my dear I think rites also to you; my dear Love to all my dear friends as if I named them.

Soe my dear friends I take leave at present to bid you fare well with all, your little ons. I rest your friend in truth

SAM^{ll}: BOWNE

About a week later Mary Bowne writes on the same subject:

¹ BULLETIN, Vol. VII, pp. 90, 91.

² From the original in possession of the editor.

MARY BOWNE TO PHINEAS AND PHEBE PEMBERTON.³

flushing ye 21 of 6 mo 1693

My very deare and hounered ffrriends phineas and pheby P. my ever true and never fading Love dearely and tenderly Saluts you and yours whom I hope are well in helth as wee are att this present, my deare friends I think time long to see you for you are very and deare to mee and the very Remembrance of you is exceeding prestious to mee for very Honorable are you in my thoughts for you have derely meritted all my which ar more then tong can express or pen writ downe—my deare friends I do meet with som exercise, my very deare friends which casses mee often to think of you with a very deare Remembrance and the more exercise I meet with the more I think of you and greatly want to be with you I hope it will not be long before I shall see you that I may a little un[burden?] myself my dear friends I am satisfied you are sensible in mesure how things are with us, a little of that has every won for there selvs a yong wife is got and the old wons forgotne and now Lords new Lays [?] and comanly such and such are the worst to deale with. Lest sed soonest mended, our father and mother very much wants to be shut of us and I think the sooner the better. I tell father somtimes that both sids are so wery that won would think wee should be esely parted which day I greatly long to see. I think to com a long with my husband. I thought it would have been before this but business hinders. So I must be contented, my deare friends I think time long to see you. My Little boy grose bravely . . . I rest your dutyfull friend

MARY BOWNE.

My deare friends this is but a little bit to what I have in my bag which must be Loosed when I com to youre house.

After about a year, more or less, Samuel and Mary Bowne appear to have given up the idea of removing to Pennsylvania and remained in Flushing, as the following letter will show:

MARY BOWNE TO PHINEAS AND PHEBE PEMBERTON.⁴

HONOURED FRIENDS

flushing in 3 of ye X month 16—

Phinihas and P. Pemberton, my deare friends whom I intirely love . . . my deare friends my hart is oftenn sad to think that wee are Lickly to settle and still to continue soc fare from you as outwardly and that I

³ From the original.

⁴ From the original. The last two figures are missing, but the date is certainly 1693 or 1694, probably the latter.

cannot see and enjoy your company as I would but seeing it is my lot, I desire to bee contented with it tho it seems very hard to bee soe far seperated from so deare and neare friends or perents for so lick you have meen to mee and still are, and I Honour and Esteeme you, youre ceare has been beyond my desarts my deare and tenderly beloved perants for so I must call you, you have largely mirritted it. I beg of you please my deare friends in as much as I must have no hope of seeing nether of you which grieves my hart many a time, please my deare friends I once more beg of you let mee here from you as often as you can with conveniency not desiring to be so troublesome. Wee are about to build an ordnerey house. I think there is about one weeks work don towards it and when the Rest will be don I cannot tell, but wee expect to bee in it beefore winter. I am quite awery of living here in this house, it is not wide an of for my husband and his father, hee many times thretnes to turn us out of his house, and I do not know but in a short time hee will do it.

Deare friends these afosed Lines were writ about a week ago but not knowing of any oppertunaty did not finish it. I am stretned of time, when an oppertunaty presents from the house by Resen of my Children my yongst is a very weekly child and has been from his berth and so is very troublesom; some times I had helpe and som times none. I have not serten helpe as yet wee cannot meet with an negro gerell to be bought our boy grows indifferantly his master hops hee will make a good sarvent. . . .

I Rest youre dutyful and ever loving friend

MARY BOWNE

Though there is no statement to that effect in the papers and memoranda under review, there seems no doubt that Samuel and Mary Bowne set up their own home in 1694 or 1695. From this time their house became a resting and abiding place for "Public Friends," as travelling ministers were called in those days. Samuel Bowne spoke in the ministry, and found a sympathetic helper in every way in his wife, of whom Samuel Bownas⁵ speaks in his Journal as "a good mother in Israel." He also speaks of Samuel Bowne as having "a fine gift [in the ministry] but not very large."⁶

From manuscript sources we learn that Samuel Bowne in 1698 accompanied Thomas Chalkley (1675-1741) on one of his

⁵ "Life and Travels of Samuel Bownas," London, 1759, p. 131.

⁶ Ibid., 117.

journeys. During this absence from home he wrote the following letter:

SAMUEL BOWNE TO MARY BOWNE.⁷

(Spelling modernized.)

DEAR WIFE

York⁸ 6th of 10th mo. 1698

My dear love is with thee and my prayers are to our tender Father that he will bless thee and our dear children and direct and comfort thee in all thy concerns and exercises thou hast to go through. . . . I beg of thee to spare no cost that may help to make thy life more comfortable. Dear Heart thou art very near and dear to me and it is far harder to part with thee than it ever was before, but I hope I may return in a month's time. . . . We are now waiting to go away. . . . I am thy true and loving husband

SAMUEL BOWNE

To this letter Thomas Chalkley added the following post-script:

THOMAS CHALKLEY TO MARY BOWNE.⁹

(Spelling modernized.)

DEAR FRIEND AND LOVING LANDLADY:

After kind love to thee with desires to the God and Father of Spirits for thine and thy children's welfare in this life and in that which is to come—I desire thee, my sister, to keep thine eye to our Heavenly Father and he will take care of thee and thine and spread a table both inwardly and outwardly and fill both body and soul with his blessings.

So prayeth thy Friend

THOMAS CHALKLEY

Thomas Chalkley also mentions Samuel Bowne in 1725.¹⁰

Samuel Bownas (1676-1753), a worthy successor of the "First Publishers of Truth," first visited America in 1702. His comparatively short "Life and Travels" is one of the most interesting of "Friends' Books." He records visiting Flushing several

⁷ From a MS. copy.

⁸ "York" is clearly New York, as Thomas Chalkley was there in 1698 (Journal, p. 22) on his way to Pennsylvania and the south. He makes no mention of York, Pennsylvania.

⁹ From a MS. copy.

¹⁰ Ed. 1751, p. 171. See note, BULLETIN, Vol. VII, p. 85.

times.¹¹ In 1703, as already referred to, Samuel Bowne accompanied him in a visit to New England. In 1705 or 1706, Samuel Bownas records that at Philadelphia Yearly Meeting "which was very large," "Sundry of my dear Friends from *Long-Island* met me, in particular my dear Friend *Samuel Bowne* and his worthy wife, who was a good Mother in Israel."¹²

He also records meeting Samuel Bowne on his second visit to America (1727).¹³

Another distinguished Friend who visited the Bownes was John Fothergill (1676-1744), who, accompanied by William Armistead, came to America in 1706. John Fothergill made a second visit to America in 1721-1724, and records that on "the 1st of the seventh month [September, 1723] we came over to *Long-Island* again, to *Samuel Bowne's*."¹⁴ Again, on a third visit to America he writes, "The 13th [of 3rd month (May) 1737] we had a Meeting at *West Chester* . . . and went afterwards to Samuel Bowne's on *Long Island* who had accompanied me this week."¹⁵

These extracts and references show the character of Samuel Bowne and his family. But to return to more personal matters.

It appears that close as was the tie between Mary Becket Bowne and the Pembertons she kept up a correspondence with her adopted mother in England, Elinor (Lowe) Haydock, as the following letter shows. The date is torn off, but the reference to John Fothergill and William Armistead fixes the year as 1706.

ELINOR HAYDOCK TO MARY BOWNE.¹⁶

(Spelling modernized.)

. . . Although our places in this world be far remote from each other, yet herein [that is in the truth] are we truly near and dear to each other . . . although our lot in this world be outward separation, yet may we have a lot and portion in the Truth . . . so that I see no cause of complaint tho we be separated, I am in my place and station to perform the work of my day according to ability given me amongst his people in his

¹¹ "Life and Travels Samuel Bownas, 1759," pp. 116-121.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 131.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 172.

¹⁴ "Account of the Life and Travels, etc., of John Fothergill," London, 1753, p. 169.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 271.

¹⁶ From a MS. copy.

church in these parts—I believe my dear Child thou art also in thy place—God hath appointed unto thee to be a comfort and succorer unto his people in those parts. . . . God Almighty bless thee, dear Lamb, and prosper this work in thy hands. . . . Dear Heart, by these lines thou wilt find I am well every way. In a fresh spring of love I tenderly salute thy dear husband—You are united in my thoughts.... Dear Mary I can but take notice of thy dutiful respect and kindness in so frequently writing to as opportunity [offers]. I am often refreshed in thy lines, altho full of be-moanings to hear from me—I must confess not without cause. The opportunities of conveyance to thee are often out of my way or of no knowledge that by reason of my own weakness, I lie like the impotent man of the pool of Bethesda. . . . Dear Heart bear with my infirmities. . . . I am glad to hear of dear John Fothergill and William Armistead arrived safe to you. Show them all the kindness you can—they be honest, humble men—we honour them for their works sake. Let them know I love them much, and pray for their prosperity in the work that their hand findeth to do for God in those parts. . . .

So my dear, having eased my heart a little in these lines, and therein in a measure answered thy desire, I shall conclude with a fresh salutation of endeared love to you all as if named one by one, and rest thy loving affectionate mother

ELINOR HAYDOCK.

We have another glimpse of Elinor Haydock in a letter written by Jane Biles,¹⁷ of Pennsylvania, who was on a visit to England in 1703.

JAMES BILES TO MARY BOWNE.¹⁸

(Spelling modernized.)

DEAR MARY

Liverpool 3 mo. 25, 1703.

. . . We have seen many faces to our comfort since we saw thine. . . . We were at thy dear mother's house. She and her children were well. She was inquisitive concerning thee and was glad to hear well of thee. We were going to Ireland Wee [spent] First and Second day with thy mother and at their First day Meeting and next to Liverpool. . . .

From thy friend

JANE BILES.

But the close union which existed between Samuel and Mary Bowne was not to be a prolonged one. She died in 1707 at the

¹⁷ She was probably the wife of William Biles, a neighbor and friend of the Pembertons.

¹⁸ From a MS. copy.

age of thirty-four, having been married sixteen years. Samuel and Mary Bowne had nine children, two of whom died in infancy. The youngest of the surviving children was three years old at the time of his mother's death. How highly Mary Bowne was esteemed has already been shown, but is confirmed by the following note from Samuel Bownas:

SAMUEL BOWNAS TO SAMUEL BOWNE.¹⁹

(Spelling modernized.)

DEAR FRIEND

Mynhead 22^d of 5th mo. 1708.

The remembrance of the sweet converse which heretofore I have had in thy family does at this time draw these lines from me; and I hope that they will find thee and thy family in the same enjoyment of health that they leave me and my dear wife whose love is to thee and thine tho' unknown. . . . I sent thy dear wife, my true friend, an Horsewhip with an ivory head marked M. B. 1707, which I hope has come to hand. It is one of the finest sort, and since she, for whom it was designed, is gone to her rest, I would, if it please thee, have it preserved for her daughter Mary,²⁰ who I hope will succeed her honourable mother in spirit and temper. I hope thou by this time hast learned how to take the parting from so honourable a mate as thou hadst, who in my judgment has not left her fellow behind on the Continent of America. It went very near when I heard she was gone. . . .

Samuel Bowne was again married in 1709 to Hannah Smith. There were six children of this marriage.

He was again left a widower in 1733, and in 1735 married his third wife, Grace Cowperthwaite, a widow. Of the years following the death of Mary Becket the compiler of this sketch has no data except a letter or two, and the references in the Journal of John Fothergill. All these show that Samuel Bowne continued to be an earnest worker in the church, and his home a resting-place for traveling Friends. He died in 1745, and the following entry occurs on the minutes of his Monthly Meeting: "Samuel Bowne of Flushing deceased at his own house 3rd mo. [May] 30th, 1745 in the 78th year of his age—a man serviceable in his day—had a public testimony in Meeting, and his House always open for the entertainment of Friends." ALLEN C. THOMAS.

¹⁹ From a MS. copy.

²⁰ She was at this time nine years old.

ANNUAL MEETING OF FRIENDS' HISTORICAL
SOCIETY.

The fourteenth annual meeting of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia was held at 20 South Twelfth Street, Philadelphia, on the evening of Second month 19, 1918.

After the usual annual reports were presented, several proposed changes in the Constitution and By-Laws were read, which will be considered and acted upon at a future meeting.

A report of the fourteenth annual conference of historical societies, held in Philadelphia on Twelfth month 29, 1917, was given by Amelia M. Gummere, who, with Mary Willits Brown, attended as representatives of our society.

Sarah E. P. Mickle, who attended the thirteenth annual meeting of the Pennsylvania Federation of Historical Societies which was held in Harrisburg on the 17th of First month, 1918, read an interesting report of it.

Amelia M. Gummere informed the meeting of the progress that has been made in the preparation of the new edition of John Woolman's Journal.

Additional information has been found which will necessitate rewriting some of the material which had been prepared.

The preparation of an appropriate minute in memory of our late friend, Joshua L. Baily, who was actively interested in the organization of our Society, and served as a Councillor for several years, was referred to a committee.

The general topic for the entertainment of the meeting was "Quakers in France."

Francis R. Taylor gave some account of "The Forerunners of the French Quakers," referring to the period of the conflict between the Protestant and Catholic peoples of France in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Among some of these spiritually-minded Protestants, there were preachers who were known as the French Prophets. A group of these, who lived near the Cevennes, were called the Camisards, or Protestants of Cevennes. From this group it is thought the Friends of Congenies are descended.

Some account of the "Early Friends in France" was given by Rufus M. Jones. He told of the visit of Sarah Grubb and Mary Dudley, accompanied by George and Sarah Dillwyn, to Holland, Germany, and France in 1788. John Eliot, an English Friend who spoke French, met the company in France and interpreted for them when they were among Friends as Congenies and Giles, where meetings were held. Allusion was also made to the visit to them by William Savery and David Sands in 1796-1797. At a later period Eli and Sibyl Jones, Friends from New England, visited this little colony of French Friends.

Hannah P. Morris followed, giving some account of a visit made to Congenies in company with her father, Samuel Morris. She made a brief reference to Marie Barnard, and then spoke of Justine Dalencourt and her work at the present time in behalf of Christianity.

OFFICERS SERVING 1918.

President—ARTHUR N. LEEDS.

Vice-Presidents { ISAAC SHARPLESS.
 { AMELIA M. GUMMERE.

Secretary—MARY S. ALLEN.

Treasurer—MARY S. ALLEN.

COUNCILLORS SERVING 1917-1918.

ELLEN W. LONGSTRETH,
ELLIS Y. BROWN,
ALBANUS L. SMITH,

GEORGE BAILEY, JR.,
EDWARD WOOLMAN,
SAMUEL N. RHOADS.

COUNCILLORS SERVING 1918-1919.

FRANCIS R. TAYLOR,
RUTH S. GOODWIN,
THOMAS K. BROWN,

SARAH E. P. MICKLE,
WALTER BRINTON,
ALICE H. YARNALL.

BOOKS OF INTEREST TO FRIENDS.

Life and Letters of Thomas Hodgkin, Fellow of University College, D.C.L. Oxford, and Durham, D.Litt. Dublin. By Louise Creighton. With Portraits and other Illustrations. Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1917. 9x5½ in., pp. xiii, 445. 12s. 6d. \$4.50.

To write even a brief review of a book when both subject and author are personal friends of the reviewer is not easy. On the one hand, there is the fear lest justice be not done to the subject, and on the other hand, lest the author do less than justice to himself. In the present case, the author's literary skill and judgment have not failed her, while her personal knowledge and sympathy have given her narrative that warmth without which, however accurate, it would be cold and formal. The family were wise in entrusting the biography to Mrs. Creighton.

To the world at large Thomas Hodgkin (1831-1913) was the historian; to his family and friends he was a man lovable and loved to an unusual degree; to the Society of Friends he was, certainly until his latter years, a quiet, though powerful influence. The historian Hodgkin is ably and clearly set forth in his aims, his careful research, his manner of work, his completed product. The man himself shines through all—a strong yet loving spirit, clear and decided in his own views, but tolerant of those of others; a mind always open to receive, and always seeking new light; a sweet Christian spirit illuminating everything; a household welcoming numerous guests; an ideal family life—such is the picture one receives as he reads the book. But the strongest impression left upon the mind of the reader is the man himself—*integer vitæ scelerisque purus*, strong of will, rich in work and service; loving in spirit.

Thomas Hodgkin was an indefatigable worker; besides his *opus magnum*, "Italy and Her Invaders," in eight octavo volumes, and many other books, he was a constant contributor to periodicals, particularly those of his own church. From the first number of the *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, 1867, every year saw one or more articles from his pen—essays, reviews, poems—seventy-two in all. He was a contributor to the *Encyclopædia Britannica* and other works of reference. He wrote for the "Leaders of Religion" series, "George Fox"—an admirable condensed account of the man and of the rise of the Society of Friends. This volume from its broad treatment, its recognition of certain weaknesses and its somewhat unconventional treatment of the subject, was not acceptable to some Friends, but it remains the most impartial and the best brief account of the great Quaker leader.

American readers of the *Life of Thomas Hodgkin* will naturally feel rather surprised that Thomas Hodgkin seemed to take little interest in American affairs or American Quakerism. His mind and interests were so fully occupied with his business, his own country, and with British

Quakerism, in the present, and with Italy in the past, that with his multitudinous occupations and the claims of family and friends, no time was left for other things. To Americans he was always cordial, and to his special American Friends he was warmly affectionate.

The high cost of the book will prevent a large circulation, and its high intellectual and spiritual level will not attract those who desire popular reading. But those who read with the heart to understand will receive an inspiration.

It seems almost ungracious to point out any slips, but the name of Archbishop Whately is spelled, in the Index and elsewhere, *Whateley*. John William Pease, Thomas Hodgkin's partner, was not the son of John Pease, the distinguished minister of Darlington (page 72), but of a first cousin, John Beaumont Pease, an Elder in Darlington Meeting.

A full and excellent Bibliography, two poems, and a fairly good Index, complete the volume.

In conclusion, a word should be said in recognition of the admirable fairness with which Mrs. Creighton, a Church of England woman, has treated Friends.

A. C. T.

A Book of Quaker Saints. By L. V[iolet] Hodgkin, author of "Pilgrims in Palestine," etc. Illustrated by F. Cayley-Robinson. T. N. Foulis, London and Edinburgh [1917]. 7½x5 in., pp. xiv, 558. 6s., \$2.50.

This charming book is by the daughter of Thomas Hodgkin, whose "Life" is noted above. This book was intended primarily for children of nine years old, but as the author herself says, more than half the thirty-two stories are for children of a larger growth, and indeed men and women can read all with pleasure and profit.

The stories are all founded on facts for which the authorities are given. The background and some of the characters are fictitious, but the spirit is true to nature and to character throughout. Most of the stories are of the period of the "Early Friends," and have a delicious flavor of antiquity. The book begins with the question, "What is a Saint?" The whole book is the answer. Perhaps it is allowable to anticipate this much of the answer: "Saints must be brave," "Saints must be faithful," "Saints must be loving," "Saints must be 'windows' to let the light through," "Saints must be near the source of Light, so as to have the Light in their own hearts."

What is the re-assuring lesson of the book? This is the reply: "In this book are written the stories of some of the Saints who did not know they were Saints at all; they thought they were just quite ordinary men and women and little children, and that makes them rather specially comforting to us, who are just quite ordinary people too." (Page 17.)

Seven illustrations in color add to the attractiveness of the volume.

Friends and the Indians, 1655-1917. By Rayner Wickersham Kelsey, Ph.D., Associate Professor in Haverford College. Published by The Associated Executive Committee on Indian Affairs, Philadelphia, 1917. 8x5 in., pp. xii, 291. \$1.50.

The Associated Executive Committee of Friends on Indian Affairs deserve much commendation for providing for the publication of a history of the dealings between Friends and the Indians, and doing it at a time when some of those who took an active part in the later general work were still alive. No other book than the one under review has attempted to cover the field, the only one somewhat similar is the small volume, "Conduct of the Friends toward the Indian Tribes, London, 1844."

The author has made careful research among manuscript and printed sources, and has given detailed references to authorities. In fact, the work has been done in accordance with modern methods of research and composition. Only those who are familiar with the difficulties involved can appreciate the amount of labor bestowed.

As one completes this story of two hundred and sixty-two years he cannot help feeling that the relations between the Quaker and the Indian were alike creditable to each.

The general appearance of the volume is attractive. Six portraits, three views, good bibliographies, and a very full and good Index, add much to the value of the book.

"I. D. Garner" (page 241, and Index) should be J. D. Garner. It seems a pity that no information is given as to where the book can be obtained.¹

Quakerism and Its Applications to Some Modern Problems, etc. By O. Edward Janney. [Philadelphia], 1917, Walter H. Jenkins. 7¾x5 in., pp. viii, 178. \$1.00.

It must be said that this book does not fulfil the promise of its title, for it is neither such a treatise on Quakerism as might be expected, nor does it set forth a practical application of Quakerism to modern problems. It is rather (1) a popular presentation of what the author believes are some of the essentials of Quakerism; and (2) thoughts on social conditions not specially connected with Quakerism. Being a popular presentation a number of rather loose statements must be excused, such as, when speaking of George Fox's preaching, he says, "People learned for the first time that the clergy was not an essential to salvation." (Page 22.) The

¹ An advertisement mentions that the book can be obtained of Friends' Book and Tract Committee, 14½ East Twentieth Street, New York City; Central Office, Five Years Meeting, Second National Bank Building, Richmond, Ind., and Friends' Book Store, 304 Arch Street, Philadelphia.

definition of the "Inner Light" would be questioned by many Friends. Chapters X, XI, XIV, XV might appear in any book on social conditions, as there is scarcely ever any reference in them to Quakerism. Indeed, the whole book, while genuinely philanthropic, can hardly be termed in the highest sense religious.

George Fox did not die on the fourteenth of November, 1690 (page 28), but on the thirteenth of the "Eleventh month," which at that time was January (Old Style), or as it was usually written January 13, 1690/91. The sentence, "'Behold I am with you even to the end of the world.' I AM is an ancient Hebrew name for God" (page 74) is not clear. The sentence apparently means that the expression "I AM" in Matthew is the same as in Exodus 3: 14; but this is grammatically incorrect, and inadmissible. The "I am" can refer only to Christ himself.

In quotations and references reference is made sometimes to the author, sometimes to his work as well, but seldom, if ever, to chapter or page. The book in this respect is in striking contrast to that of Edward Grubb noted in the previous number of the BULLETIN.

Disasters and the American Red Cross in Disaster Relief. By J. Byron Deacon, General Secretary, Philadelphia Society for Organizing Charity, etc. New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1918. 7x4½ in., pp. 230. 75 cents.

This little volume, skilfully compiled by a Friend, gives a most interesting account of the manner in which the American Red Cross has given assistance at times of great disasters (other than war). The heads are "Disasters at Sea," "Coal Mine Disasters," "Floods," "Fires," "Tornadoes." There are also chapters on "Principles of Disaster Relief" and "Organization for Disaster Relief." Two Appendices and a full Index complete the volume. Independently of the general interest of the book, the great lesson inculcated is the incalculable value of wise preparation for "times of emergent need," and wise method in administering immediate help and subsequent rehabilitation. The book is to be highly commended.

November: Poems in War Times. By Henry Bryan Binns. London, 1917, A. C. Fifield; New York, Dodd, Mead & Co. 7¼x5½ in., pp. 94. 5s., \$1.25.

It has been frequently said that war times bring out poetry. Certainly the output, if it is allowable to use that word at all in connection with poetry, the past three years, has been very large, both in Great Britain and in America. Whether any great poems have been published which would hold a place in the anthologies of fifty years hence, it is impossible to foretell, but up to the present time there would seem to be very few indeed which could be put in such a class. Many of the poems published show a deep sympathy with the sufferings of these days, and express with

more or less earnestness and clearness heartfelt aspirations after loftier ideals and a better world, but how many of them really take possession of the reader and live in his memory?

The present little volume by one of our too few Quaker poets, or poets who are Quakers, exhibits in good degree the spirit of the best of his contemporary bards. There is very great variety, a variety which suggests the question whether some of the pieces are poems at all in the strict sense of the word, or are poetic thoughts expressed in ornate prose. Two or three of the "poems" are not even printed as poetry; it is difficult, for instance, to see how such a piece as "The Price of Freedom" could possibly be ranked as a *poem*. But this brings up the vexed question, "What is poetry?"—a question which cannot be taken up here.

The Record of a Quaker Conscience. Cyrus Pringle's Diary. With an Introduction by Rufus M. Jones. New York, the Macmillan Co., 1918. 6¾x4½ in., pp. 93. 60 cents.

Many who read this simple diary of a "Conscientious Objector of 1863," when it appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly*, February, 1913, will rejoice that it has been re-published at this time, and introduced to readers by one so thoroughly qualified. We heartily commend this little book, and wish that all our readers, and the general public, especially those who seem unable to understand the Quaker attitude toward war, could read the "Introduction" which presents so admirably the Quaker view. [For a sketch of C. G. Pringle, see page 86 of this number of the BULLETIN.]

The Story of a Small College. By Isaac Sharpless, President of Haverford College, 1887-1917. Philadelphia, the John C. Winston Co. (1918). 9x5¾ in., pp. 237. \$2.00.

This volume has come to hand too late for an extended review. The work is a simple, clear account of a remarkably successful administration of Haverford College for thirty years. Had the account been written by another hand much more would have been said; as it is, every alumnus and friend will be interested to read the book, and those who know the history of the college will supply much which the modesty of the author has omitted to mention. It is a book which no Haverfordian can afford to miss, and from which those interested in higher education can learn much. A good portrait, two Haverford views, and an Index lend their aid in making up an attractive volume.

NOTES AND QUERIES

NEWPORT NEWS. — No doubt many of our readers have at some time wondered at the name "Newport News" as applied first to the point, and now to the considerable seaport in Virginia near Hampton. The following gives what is probably a corruption of the original name: "I went to but about two or three Meetings more, getting myself ready to return Home, and accordingly we took Leave, and came down the River [James], to *Kickatan*, but were forced, in sailing there, by missing the Channel, to lie aground by *Newport's-Nose* near twenty-four Hours before we could get to Hampton, and when there staid about a week and four Days."—"Life and Travels of Samuel Bownas, London, Philadelphia Reprinted, 1759," pp. 202, 203.

The name "Newport News" was an old one even in Samuel Bownas's day, for the name appears in Captain John Smith's History of Virginia (p. 16) as "Nupor[t]s-newes" (Arber's edition, p. 565.) In the Records of the Virginia Company it appears as "Newport News" (July, 1622), and "Newport' Newes" (April 30, 1623).—"Records of the Virginia Company," Washington, 1906, pp. ii, 74, 381. Neither of these sources gives any clue to the origin of the name. Alexander

Brown, in his "Genesis of the United States" (ii, 956), says: "The origin of the name is a mooted question; [it] was probably named for one of the Newce (Newse or Nuce) family, New-Port-Newce." Lyon G. Tyler, in his note to extracts from Captain John Smith's History, says: "The name either is derived from that of Captain Newport, or means 'New-Port-Newce,' if, as is sometimes said, Daniel Gookin came from Newce-town in Ireland."—"Narratives of Early Virginia," p. 349. See also his "Cradle of the Republic," 1900, p. 155.

YEARLY MEETING OF FRIENDS IN JAPAN.—The movement to organize a Yearly Meeting began something over two years ago, and has been carried on with dignity and deliberation, and a sense of the importance of the issue, until its completion this year (1917). The Meeting as at present organized consists of three Monthly Meetings, and three meetings which might be called preparatory to the Monthly Meeting stage. There are no Quarterly Meetings as yet. There is a committee which corresponds to the Representative Meeting of Philadelphia and the Permanent Boards of the Five Years Meeting; and also a Meeting of Ministers and Elders. The

sessions of Japan Yearly Meeting began Fifth month 10th, and lasted through the 13th, 1917.—Condensed from *The Friend* (Philadelphia) of Seventh month 19th, 1917.

DR. H. M. GWATKIN ON THE QUAKERS.—In the posthumous volume, "Church and State in England to the Death of Queen Anne," London, 1917, brief notices of George Fox and the Quakers appear (pp. 340-342). The able and distinguished theologian does not seem to have fully recognized the importance of the Quaker movement in the seventeenth century, nor does he do quite justice to the underlying principles of the early Quakers. He evidently cannot minimize the eccentricities, but gives the impression that these were far more common than they actually were, and that they were specially characteristic of Friends. At the same time he says the excesses "which might have led to very much worse things were firmly controlled by serious and sober-minded leaders, so that while the movement became more orderly, it lost nothing of its intense reality and spiritual fervor." He further says, "Being mysticism and not revivalism, it [Quakerism] could not maintain the appeal it made to the lower classes in an age of spiritual revolution." The query will naturally arise, especially with those who are more familiar with the inner history of Quakerism than Dr. Gwatkin could be,

"Was it the 'mysticism' that caused the decline in the spread of Quakerism and made it lose its hold on the people?" As was characteristic of Dr. Gwatkin, both in his conversation and in his lectures, pithy sentences abound. "The Platonist starts from human reason quickened by the spirit, the Quaker from the spirit quickening human intuition." "Fox knew his Bible and little more, while Wesley was one of the best read men of his time; and in religion Fox was revolutionary, Wesley conservative." It is too strong a statement to say that "Fox threw over the authority of the Scripture," and there seems to be a veiled sarcasm in saying, "[Fox] went (or thought he went) by the inner light." It is very much to be doubted whether Dr. Gwatkin quite understood either Fox or Quakerism. It is probably a typographical error that the date of Fox's birth is given as 1621.

"DEPENDENT BRETHREN." — In several villages of West Sussex I came across a body calling themselves Dependent Brethren, but known locally as "Coklers" (cocoa drinkers). They are a small body, numbering only six hundred, and appear to be very similar to Friends, having a free ministry for both sexes, no sacraments, and even some pacifists among them. They engage in business among themselves, running the village stores, and living as a community mainly composed

of elderly persons. I had a long talk with one of their elders, and was much interested in hearing particulars of their faith and practice. They have a very high reputation among the village people for sterling honesty, and their stores are most beautifully kept, and contain everything needed by cottagers, from furniture to food and clothing.—Esther M. Kitching, in "Workers at Home and Abroad," December, 1917.

CYRUS GUERNSEY PRINGLE.—Few, probably, of the readers of the BULLETIN will know of the subsequent history of Cyrus Pringle (1838-1911), whose "Record of a Quaker Conscience" is noticed elsewhere in this number of the BULLETIN. As a young man he early devoted himself to botanical and horticultural pursuits with the greatest success. He was specially interested in the improvement of plants by breeding and selection. It is said that to him Luther Burbank owes much in his early training in originating new varieties of plants. Pringle confined his studies to no one field. He originated three well-known varieties of potatoes, the Snowflake, the Alpha, and the Ruby. He originated the Hullless Oat, the valuable Defiance Wheat, and the Champlain Wheat; indeed, "his new varieties of wheat added many millions to the profits of the American farmer." He also originated a number of varie-

ties of fruits. His collection of bulbs of ornamental plants was thought to be the largest in the world. After some years in this line of work, he turned his attention to collecting specimens, and became a most skillful botanical explorer. He was an official collector for Harvard and for the American Museum of Natural History. His field was Vermont, the lower St. Lawrence, the Pacific slope, the southwestern states and territories, and Mexico. Between 1885 and 1911 he made thirty-nine trips to Mexico. "He brought out of Mexico alone over 12,000 numbers, very many of which were new to science. His own herbarium, now the property of the University of Vermont, contains about 160,000 mounted plants." He is said to have distributed among various institutions in this country and in Europe 500,000 specimens.

He was not by birth a Friend, but joined the Society from conviction about 1862. Early in 1863 he married Almira L. Greene, a Friend of Starksboro, Vermont. The marriage did not prove a congenial one, and from purely personal reasons of incompatibility his wife left him in 1872. In 1877 a formal divorce was obtained.

It has not been possible to find the date of his leaving the Society. From all accounts he was an exceedingly modest man, kind and considerate of others, and was beloved by his associates. It might be added that the family

used the name of Prindle, but he adopted Pringle as an older form.

FRIENDS' RECONSTRUCTION WORK IN FRANCE. In the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for 1^{er} Octobre, 1917 (pp. 678, 679), M. Gaston Deschamps has a most appreciative notice of Friends' Reconstruction Work in France, and describes a visit to Tugny-et-Pont, two villages where he met two of the workers. He says: "Les présentations sont vite faites. Il s'appelle M. Trow, son camarade se nomme M. Robinson et nous donne tout de suite, comme lui, un solide *shake hand*." M. Deschamps speaks of the work as a model to be held up for others to follow.

SALE OF THE CHARLES ROBERTS COLLECTION OF QUAKERIANA.—One of the largest private collections of Friends' books in America—that of the late Charles Roberts, of Philadelphia (1846-1902)—was disposed of by auction in

New York City on Fourth month 10, 1918. Chiefly through the liberality of a friend of Haverford College, its library secured several hundred volumes. Among these are some great rarities, such as "New England's Ensigne, 1659" [Humphrey Norton]; a volume of Tracts, mostly of 1653, from the library of Robert Barclay, the Apologist, with his autograph and list in his own handwriting; "Several Epistles Given Forth by Two of the Lord's Faithful Servants . . . William Robinson and William Leddra, 1669;" "Plantation Work, the Work of this Generation . . ." [William Loddington], 1682; "A Winding Sheet" . . . William Penn, 1672; and "The Judgment Given Forth by Twenty-Eight Quakers against George Keith . . . 1694." This large acquisition has probably made the Haverford collection of Quakeriana the largest and most valuable in America, especially for reference and research.

Bulletin of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia

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NOTE.—The editor does not hold himself responsible for any statement made in contributed articles.

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A JOURNEY BY CARRIAGE FROM NEWPORT, RHODE ISLAND, TO SMITHFIELD, OHIO, 1811.—I.

BY ROWSE TAYLOR.

[The following account of a journey by carriage from Rhode Island to Ohio, in 1811, is taken from the original lent by the owners of the manuscript, and offered to the BULLETIN through the courtesy of Rayner W. Kelsey. It is a simple account of a long and somewhat arduous trip by a family intending to settle in what was then the far West. Considerable light is thrown on manners and customs, and the comments of one who was evidently a shrewd New Englander are informing. With a few unimportant changes in spelling, chiefly where the same word is spelled differently at different places, and in punctuation, which is somewhat wild, the manuscript is printed exactly as written, with no omissions. An itinerary, so far as it has been possible to make one out, has been added.—EDITOR.]

Smithfield, [Ohio].

8th mo., 18th, 1811.

Beloved Relatives and Friends on and near Rhode Island.

Now for the first time since we crossed the Ohio River, I take up my pen to address you; the innumerable kindness, and unbounded attention, which we received from you, forbids us to believe that you are unmindful of our welfare, or that a line from us would be unacceptable; neither is our strong attachment to you diminished by the distance we are from you, but on the contrary, as saith the poet, “at each remove we drag a lengthening chain.” I apprehend that our leaving Newport, without saying to our friends *farewell!* seemed rather strange to some of them; I may observe that it was rather on my wife’s account than my own, that I proposed this, fearing that the word *farewell!* *farewell!* so often repeated would overcome her fortitude, not doubting my own firmness; I therefore chose to avoid a parting interview but when the destin’d moment came, in which I must bid adieu to Newport, my imagined firmness vanished—my nerves were unstrung; the separation—perhaps the final separation from such a circle of friends, produced sensations, of which I can give you no adequate description—neither can you form any just con-

ceptions, it required no small degree of exertion to ascend the carriage, say farewell to those about us and set off—when we were in Broad Street, Henry Williams came running along with a countenance, as cheerful as the morning, and called, farewell!—my heart replied thou little knowst the pang conveyed in that drear word;

We rode that evening as far as cousin Asa Sherman's, where no attention was wanting, that could in any way tend to make our short stay agreeable; the next morning, he, and Eliza accompanied us to the ferry, and staid with us, untill the boat removed us from the garden of America; this separation produced no small degree of sensibility in them, and us, and even my boasted firmness stood not unmoved. We reached Bristol, at late dinner time, and our old friend, Phebe Sylvester, with her usual dexterity, provided us an excellent dinner. The sight of the little town of Bristol, (which had indeed a pretty appearance, being much improved since I saw it before) occasion'd painful sensations. when I reflected that it was built with Mens Bones.¹ We arrived at Cousin Peter Grinnel's, in Providence, just before sunset, he and his wife were both from home but their amiable children treated us with great politeness and attention and spared no pains to make their house completely agreeable to us.

The next morning 5th Mo. 16th, when about to take leave of our dear young cousins, Obadiah Brown,² and wife, very kindly called upon us, offered us any assistance in their power, rode with us a few miles to put us in the right road, and would have gone farther, but it was meeting day. This flattering attention, was the more pleasing, as it was wholly unexpected. At parting, Oba-

¹ "Built with men's bones." The reference may be to the Indian Wars of King Philip, or to bombardments of the Revolutionary War, but more likely to the slave trade, of which Bristol was, during the latter part of the eighteenth and early part of the nineteenth century, a great seat.

² Obadiah Brown (1771-1822), son of Moses Brown, the well-known Friend and philanthropist, of Providence, Rhode Island, was himself, like his father, a benefactor of Friends' School, now Moses Brown School, Providence, Rhode Island.

diah put a \$10 bill in my hand, which tho agreeable was not more so than his modest manner of doing it; this, with one given me by cousin William Williams, and one by S. Elam, I laid by, to purchase bread in Ohio.

Notwithstanding the distance travelled, was so inconsiderable, yet it seemed, as if we had entered a new world. On viewing the country from Providence, through the State of Rhode Island, which appeared to have a thin barren soil covered with rocks, and stones, I thought it might indeed be called a place of probation, and concluded, the people must be very ignorant, if they mistook this, for the place of their rest: that afternoon met Rowland Green,³ returning from Meeting, he was friendly, and affectionate, but as we were several miles past his house, we did not go there. Staid that night at Field's, in Sterling, in the State of Connecticut; a very good house. 17th, Rode through Plainfield, a pleasant little village, through Canterbury, and lodged at Carpenters. 18th, In the afternoon we crossed Connecticut River, on an elegant toll-bridge and entered the Town of Hartford; a busy, flourishing, pleasant place.

Tho the Eastern side of the State is preferable to the western, yet it is in most places stony, and very uneven; better adapted to the raising of cattle than grain. After gazing about a while and purchasing a few conveniences, which by this time we had learn'd the want of, we proceeded about three miles, were disappointed in getting entertainment at a public house, the landlord not being at home, and his wife appeared to be rather shy to Quakers. I called on the Parson of the Parish to inquire what to do, he told me there was another public house, about 4 Miles on our road, but it was too late to go there, that Hurlbert's was about 2 miles, but that was out of the road we were then pursuing; that there was one Tim Sedgwick, a friendly man who lived about half a mile from him, if we chose to go there, he thought we might be accommodated, or if we chose to stay with him he had stable-room, grain, and hay, he would entertain us himself;

³ Rowland Greene (1770-1859), a prominent Friend and minister of New England Yearly Meeting. See BULLETIN, II, 119.

but he supposed we did not love Presbyterians. I replied "yes we do, my Grandfather was a Presbyterian, and a fine old man." Although the Parson was very friendly, yet as the next day was his Sabbath, we chose to call on our *friend Timothy*, who with his wife, received, and treated us very kindly and on the whole it must be called a happy disappointment, for we had nearly abandoned the project of going to cousin William Mitchell's, but friend Sedgwick inform'd us that it would carry us but very little out of our way, and gave us a list of the towns from his house etc. where upon we at once happily resolv'd to go there.

19th, Having now chang'd our course we rode $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles to Hurlbert's tavern, found first rate attention, and a fine breakfast; the landlord complimented us by saying, that it afforded him great satisfaction to see people moving, who look'd as if they were able to move (but the poor man did not know where my \$10 came from). We left his house, and soon came to the Talcott mountain; when we were on the summit of this mount we recollected that my great coat was left at Hurlbert's; this occasion'd Samuel and the black horse eight miles travel. 12 or 14 miles from Hartford we left the Albany turnpike, and took the Poughkeepsie, a very indifferent road; in the afternoon crossed a number of bad little wooden bridges—reached Griswold's in Torrington. 20th, Travell'd eight miles before breakfast (a rough road, as I then thought not having at that time seen Laurel Hill), at length arrived at Pitt Buells in Goshen. I inquired whether it would be more proper to call for breakfast, or dinner at that time of day, but as neither they, nor I could determine that question, they loaded the table with a great variety of good victuals, and we failed not at that time to get our penny worth—here we found first rate entertainment, rode on through the day. The next morning, being the 21st, our landlady inquired whether we were moving; on understanding that we were going to the State of Ohio, she exclaimed, Well! I think you had better go to the end of the world and jump off! However we concluded to travel on; and leaving the rugged hills of Connecticut, we entered the State of New York—where the prospect soon began to change for the better. Fine fields of Wheat, Rye, and clover, began to be more

common; and in the afternoon, we had the *heartfelt* satisfaction of arriving at Cousin William Mitchell's, where we staid more than two days. Here (as I observed in a few lines to cousin D. Buffum) every thing was done to render our visit agreeable, that ingenuity could devise, or industry execute; nothing appeared in the family but order, and happiness; we attended their week-day meeting; had a sight of the School-house, but did not enter it. The Nine Partners⁴ appear to unite the great advantages of a good soil, healthful climate, convenience of Market, plenty of Water, and above all, agreeable society—here we saw, and spoke with John Williamson, who has a good countenance, and a good Character—Cousin Williams has a fine farm of 170 Acres; on the 24th we left his happy house and on our departure, they loaded us with such things as were necessary. We had a very pleasant days ride, through as fine a country, as we had ever seen, crossed the Hudson River, at the Fishkill-landing, and took lodgings in Clarkes' Hotel in Newburgh. Here I acted the part of a Gentleman so well, that the landlord must I think have taken me for some [New] *Bedford* friend! perhaps he thought me William Rotch.⁵ I found my opinion of his mistake, from the amount of his Bill; but as it is my *rule*, always to save my credit when I cannot save my money, I paid it off with a good grace, and proceeded. We travelled about 2 miles on a turnpike road, the last we were able to find, leading towards the place of our destination. Fifteen or 20 miles more brought us to the State of New Jersey.

The Jersey horses are much more to be admired, than the Jersey women; indeed we saw but little in that state worthy of admiration; the land in general is indifferent, and stony; the fences are very bad; the houses, even those that are otherwise

⁴ A district of Dutchess County, New York, where there was a large settlement of Friends.

⁵ William Rotch (1734-1828), a citizen of Nantucket and later (from 1795) of New Bedford, Massachusetts. He was one of the most prominent Friends of New England and a successful shipping merchant, a rival of John Hancock. Three of his vessels, chartered by the East India Company, were the scene of the "Boston Tea Party," 1773. See BULLETIN, I, 49-55; VII, 68; *American Friend*, 1901, VIII, 413-416, 440-448.

elegant, are built only one story, and a half high, most of them have several little awkward additions, generally a porch in front, where the men hand their waggon-harness [sic], and the women set their apparatus for working, and some other things, which in my opinion ought to be kept the other side of the house. Their horses seem'd to be almost the only object of their attention; we lodged 2 nights in that State found indifferent public houses. From Newburgh, on the Hudson, to Easton, on the Delaware, is called 100 miles, the roads by no means good; we travelled it in 4 days. On our arrival at the Delaware we found a cover'd bridge over it 600 feet in length, its breadth ample, admitting of 2 carriage roads and sufficient room for passengers on foot; when on the midst of it one might fancy himself in an immense store.

On entering Easton a pretty town on the west bank of the Delaware, the first thing that arrested our attention was the large horses, our's look'd like colts. Here all appear'd civility, and politeness; we found at the Hotel (a large elegant brick building) excellent accommodations, the landlord, a well-bred man was very attentive. We had occasion to call on a Black-smith, a sadler, a Tinman, and the Post-Master, all of whom shewed good breeding: I called at the Bank, *even there* I was treated with civility, but the Cashier (who they said was a Friend) had gone to New York. 5th mo 29th Being now on Wm. Penn's fine farm, we left Easton and rode 12 Miles to Bethlehem, the well known seat of the Moravians; this distance, the country was level, and well cultivated; pass'd a pretty toll bridge, over the Lehigh, thence through Allentown, and Kutztown, a considerable village to Trexlerstown. Here we lodged at a Dutch-house, the landlord, whose name was Trexler spoke English very well, but the women could not understand us when we called for anything. Cousin Mary was extremely disturbed with the Rats. On the 30th travelled; on the 31st in the morning passed through Reading, a very pretty, flourishing town, near the Schuylkill. From Easton on the Delaware, to Reading on the Schuylkill is 54 Miles; for 5 or 6 Miles before we reached Reading the people were at work, making a turnpike road, and we found it difficult to pass with a carriage in some places. The country generally from Easton to

Reading, has a fine appearance; beautiful fields of wheat, Rye, and Clover; many decent buildings, and very large horses. The Cashier of Reading Bank, without hesitation took my New York Bills, and gave me Pennsylvania. Here we forded the Schuylkill; but being unacquainted with the River, thought it prudent to hire a lad, and horse to conduct us.

On leaving this River, we met a multitude of large, heavy waggons, that looked like moving Castles; the soil was clay, and the roads had been cut down wonderfully by the waggons, while the ground was soft, and now being dried in deep furrows, we found it difficult to turn out of the beaten track, which we were often obliged to do. After travelling 15 or 16 Miles we came to the descent of a hill, where the stones and rocks were very plenty, and we began to fear, that our Carriage would go to pieces; meeting with a man, we inquired of him, the distance to Meyerstown, the village, in which we proposed to lodge; he replied "5 Miles and a half. We inquired if the road before, was better, than that we had passed, he answered "no, no better": I began to suspect, that what we had experienced that day, was but a specimen of each succeeding day's labor, and my constancy began to fail, but after riding, half a mile, we found our informers account to be very erroneous, the road was much better, and for 30 Miles it continued very good.

6th mo. 1st, Left Meyerstown, and passed through Lebanon, a large village (said to contain 300 houses) and lodged in Hummelstown. 2nd, Passed through Harrisburgh, on the Susquehannah. I think that the finest country, I have seen, lies between the Schuylkill, and Susquehannah Rivers, the distance between 50 and 60 Miles; the land from what information I could obtain sold as high, as on Rhode Island. A mile or two before we reached Harrisburgh, our attention was arrested by a very spacious brick building which we discovered, a small distance from the road, through the woods; it was 3 stories high; and about 30 windows in front; we supposed that some Gentleman of property, was about fixing himself there. Harrisburgh appeared to be a flourishing place, tho' our stay there was but for a moment. The flat as they call it being ready, we rode in, and without altering

our position, or unharnessing our horses, were pushed over the Susquehannah, by 4 or 5 stout fellows though the distance exceeds a mile; we then rode out of the flat, and proceeded that evening to Carlisle; on our arrival there we were informed that the brick building, which we so much admired, was the County *Poor House*!! Surely it would not suffer by a comparison with the Alms House in Newport.

3d, In consequence of the heavy rains lately fallen in that part of the country, we had a very soft road; the day was so slippery, that we were obliged to have our horses shod, and furnish'd with long corks to enable them to ascend the hills. It was our aim to reach Shippensburg that night, in the afternoon I made some inquiry at a dirty looking public house, about entertainment and the distance to Shippensburg; a pert young man told me it was 5 miles, and the mud holes, were up to my neck. However, as things appeared rather gloomy at that house, we chose to go on, but found the road almost as bad as represented, yet we were favoured to get along, and found at Cohorns^a most excellent entertainment. Cohorns is inferior to no house we found on the journey; this was the more grateful to us, as we had experienced some difficulty in Carlisle, about getting good accommodation. Here we were advised to take the road leading through Chambersburgh, instead of that through Strausburg, with which we complied, that being the Stage Road but not so much frequented by waggons, which we were willing to shun (the two roads unite before we cross the Juniatta River) 4th, Altho' the roads were very bad from Carlisle, to Shippensburg, yet we soon found good road again, after leaving the latter place. In the afternoon we passed thro' Chambersburgh, which is a remarkable pretty, pleasant place, and indeed the villages through Pennsylvania, far exceeded our expectation, in number, population, and improvements.

5th, We were now about entering a new world, in which

^a Cohorns. This could not be identified; it was probably a tavern, or small village.

*Andrew Winslow*⁷ lost sight of land for many days; but no such difficulty awaited us, we passed very quietly through it; and I think that even here strong drink is more to be feared, than the mountains, rocks, serpents, and beasts of prey; notwithstanding the hills are steep, and the soil in many places thin, yet if the industry and virtue of the people, equal'd the bounty of Heaven, even here vast many people might be comfortably supported. This day after passing several Indian hills, we came to the Cove-mountain, in the ascent of which, we were detain'd most of the afternoon, in consequence of a loaded waggon being broken down in the road, and no way to pass it before it was removed. The descent of the mountain, was steep, and unpleasant, the road being stony, and daylight leaving us—however we reached McConnelsburgh, in the evening, and after some inquiry put up at a public house; after the usual attentions to ourselves, and horses, we retired about 10, o Clock to our lodgings, when lo! we found the beds most horrid nasty, and the bugs, without number; to enter the beds, was as unpleasant as a dose of tartar emetic, and one might as well sleep in a hornets nest—but I was determin'd not to be *beat* by the *bugs*, so I took my hat, stept out and ran down the street, by one tavern, and another, untill I came to one whose appearance suited me, but all were in bed, and the doors barred; I knocked, and called for the landlord, he soon came and I briefly let him into the secret; he consented to let me have such beds as he had—I then went back and told our former landlord that my wife had discovered a few bugs in his beds, and that we had concluded to step into his neighbour's; he appeared, to be rather abashed, but I made the matter as easy as I could and went to our lodgings, where I found a number of excellent beds almost too clean to be slept in. In the morning, he was very attentive, brought us water for washing, and remarkably *clean* Towels—he charged us for his beds, and trouble, only 25 Cents! this man's name is Dexson; if any of my friends ever travel this way, let them remember the name—We returned to the other house, for

⁷ *Andrew Winslow*. Allusion not identified.

our Carriage, and horses, and found them scrubbing up; we paid off the bill, and proceeded.

McConnellsburgh is a decent little village at the foot of Cove-mountain; the country around is very mountainous, or hilly, for we were often unable to tell, where the hills ended, and the mountains begun.

I was told that a man, in the neighborhood, sold 300 barrels of flour, the last year, all the produce of his own fields, and raised without the help of slaves. 6th, This afternoon we came to the foot of Sideling Hill, and imprudently ascended it; found it the most difficult part of the whole journey (Laurel Hill excepted) it was late before we descended the hill, and the public house we came to made a mean appearance; we chose, tho' late, to pass it, remembering the bugs, we had seen the night before. Came to a second, it was filled with waggoners; came to a third, it was filled with drovers; travelled on the fourth, it made a most sorry appearance by moonshine; drove on to the 5th, knock'd a long time, finally roused the landlord, he positively declared that he did not keep Tavern; we supposed, that he was grievously intoxicated—we rode on, in order to find the 6th but coming to a run of water shaded from the moon by lofty trees, and the road being very muddy, we feared to proceed, and return'd to the 4th tavern above mention'd called, and gained admittance; but found a most horrid dirty, place. Perhaps it will not be best to boast of our resignation, it was *this* or *none*; we were compelled to submit. Samuel, went up stairs, and turned in; Phebe brought down a bed and laid in the Bar Room—Mary and the children had another straw-bed brought and laid on the *floor* in the kitchen; and I put on my great coat, and sat in the Corner; yet there was this consoling reflection "it is not long to morning."

ITINERARY FOR FIRST PART OF THE JOURNEY.

Newport, [Rhode Island], Bristol, Providence, Sterling, [Connecticut], Plainfield, Canterbury, *Connecticut River*, Hartford, Torrington, Goshen, Nine Partners, [New York], Fishkill Landing, *Hudson River*, Newburgh, *Delaware River*, Easton [Pennsylvania], Bethlehem, Allentown, Trexlerstown, Kutztown,

Reading, *Schuylkill River*, Myerstown, Lebanon, Hummelstown, Harrisburg, *Susquehannah River*, Carlisle, Shippensburg, Cohorns [?], Chambersburgh, McConnellsville, *Juniata River*.

(*To be concluded.*)

A PROPOSED FRIENDS' SETTLEMENT IN CANADA, 1790.

FROM RECORDS OF WESTLAND MONTHLY MEETING OF FRIENDS, PENNSYLVANIA.

A considerable number of members of the Society of Friends having settled in the southwestern part of Pennsylvania, a meeting was regularly established in 1781, in Washington County, and called by the name of Westland. In 1784 a meeting was established on the eastern side of the Monongahela River, in Fayette County, and called by the name of Redstone. In 1785 these were united in a monthly meeting for business and called Westland. This meeting was subordinate to Fairfax Quarterly Meeting in Virginia, and the latter at that time to the Yearly Meeting in Philadelphia.

From the Minutes of Westland Monthly Meeting, the following bit of history is taken:

(2d mo. 27, 1790) West Land Preparative Meeting informs this that David England produced certain papers to that Meeting, setting forth that he had Petitioned the Authority at Quebec and Detroit in behalf of the members of this Meeting, without encouragement from any of them as he now acknowledges; which having been considered by a Committee of the preparative, and now coming under the consideration of this Meeting, and apprehending the subject to be of considerable importance to Friends here and the Society in general it is thought necessary a Copy of the Papers be lodged with the Records, and for them to be forwarded to the Quarterly Meeting for further consideration and advice, both with respect to our care and treatment with the individual, and what may be expedient for the clearing of the Society of such unwarrantable conduct.

(3d mo. 27, 1790)

The following Minute respecting David England was sent by one of the Representatives from a committee of the Quarterly Meeting, viz.:

To Friends of the Monthly Meeting at Westland: Esteemed Friends your request with respect to David England, being opened in our Quarterly Meeting, and upon a deliberation appointed us as a Committee to view the papers forwarded relative to his Case: Having met and deliberately entered into a consideration of the same, we are Unanimously of the Mind that the most speedy method that may be come at with safety should be made use of, of fully informing Governor Carlton that the Petition sent forward to him was without your knowledge or Consent, and those in Authority at Detroit, the situation David England stands in among his Friends, and that he acknowledges that no Friends knew of his unadvised Conduct in that matter: and that we believe he ought to be speedily dealt with as a disorderly person. For further information we refer you to your Representatives and remain your Loving Friends.

Signed on behalf of a Committee of fifteen Friends, 3d Month 9th 1790

By (JAMES MENDENHALL
(STEPHEN GREGG,

WILLIAM HOUGH
JONATHAN LUPTON

Which being read this Meeting thinks best to appoint Joseph Townsend, Isaac Jenkinson, William Wilson, James Crawford, Joshua Dixon, John Couzens, Jonas Cattell, William Dixon, Josiah Crawford, James Purviance, John Cope, Samuel Jackson, and Zachariah Gapen to prepare what may be necessary to send to the Governor and those in Authority, and if a safe Conveyance offers, forward the same on behalf of this Meeting, and produce a Copy to our next.

(4-24-1790)

West Land Preparative Meeting Complains of David England for going to Detroit with a view of Settling contrary to the Advice of his Friends, and without their knowledge Petitioned the Government of Canada in the following manner, wherein he continues to Justify himself; this meeting appoints Josiah Crawford, James Purviance, John Cope, and Joseph Townsend to take a solid opportunity with him thereon, and unless they find sufficient cause to forbear prepare a Testimony against him, inform him of it and produce it to next meeting.

To thy Excellency the right Honorable
GUY LORD DORCHESTER,

Captain General, and Governor in Chief of the Provinces of Quebec, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, Vice Admiral of the same General and Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Forces in the said Provinces and the Island of Newfoundland, &c. &c. &c.

The Humble Petition of David England in behalf of the people called Quakers living at Redstone, and its Vicinity, in the State of Pennsylvania.

Humbly Sheweth,

That thy Petitioners are People of some property, and are not necessitated through Poverty, or Induced by Lucrative Motives to abandon their Country, and enduring the Fatigues and Perils of a hazardous journey; but actuated through Zeal for his Majesty and the remembrance of their former happy State under the mildest and best of Governments, induces them now to endeavour to enjoy the same.

That thy petitioners are desirous of having a Township laid out for them in any good part of this District, in order of better supporting, as well as regulating their own interior police, peculiar to the Sect.

That they are in no doubt of the said Township being peopled and regularly Settled in the course of one Year, provided they may be granted the Indulgence of one of his Majesty's Vessels to Transport their Families from Ryahoga (?), and any Assistance that could be afforded in conducting them through the Indian Country,

Wherefore thy Petitioners humbly Pray thy Excellency taking the merits of this their Petition into thy consideration and will be pleased to favor their request, as far as to thy Excellency it may seem proper.

And thy Petitioners shall ever pray, &c.

Detroit, District of Hesse, 11th of July, 1789.

LAND OFFICE, District of Hesse, 14th of August, '89 .

PRESENT,

Patrick Murray Esq^r. Major 60th Reg^t. Commandant of Detroit, &c.

The Honorable William Dummer Powell Esq^r

Alexander M^eKee

William Robertson Esq^{rs}.

Alexander Grant

The Board having enquired of David England what certainty he could offer of being able to Settle a Township as required in his Memorial? Replied by him, that the application is on behalf of himself and twenty Families of his Sect but thinks that a much greater number would come in with him if he could carry assurance to them, that they would in their arrival be Located together: The Board considers that the Petition should be forwarded, with a recommendation to his Excellency, the right Honorable Lord Dorchester, to grant the Prayer of it, inasmuch as relates to the appropriation of a certain spot for those People exclusive of other Settlers; and as Mr. England says he has Visited and approved the Lands at Point au (au ?) Pele the Board will grant to him and each head of a family of the people called Quakers, who may accompany him, two Hundred Acres in the Township which may include Point au Pele, pro-

vided they come in and Subscribe the Declaration of Fidelity before the first of July next, and the Clerk is directed to give a Copy of this Minute to Mr. England.

A true Extract from the Minutes, T. Smith, Clk.

In reply to which Petition and Minute the Committee produced what they were appointed to prepare, which were read and approved, and as they have not yet had an opportunity of forwarding them, the same Friends (with the addition of James McGrew) are continued to seek an opportunity, and send them if one offers; the Letters are as follows, Viz.

To the Governor in Chief of the Provinces of Quebec, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, &c.

Whereas David England a Member of the Society of the People called Quakers, having produced to one of our Meetings a Copy of a petition directed to thee, in behalf of the said People living at Red Stone and its Vicinity, requesting a Township to be laid out for them in any good part of the District of Hesse; and also an Extract from the Minutes of the Land Office of said District expressive of his informing the Board that the Petition was on behalf of himself and twenty Families of this Sect; and whereas our Monthly Meeting, by the advice of a Quarterly Meeting, taking the matter into consideration, appointed us to Write to thee, to inform thee of the impropriety of his Petition, for by his own acknowledgment, he had no encouragement from any of the said People, and we may also inform that it was without the Knowledge of said Meeting, and that we are under the necessity, according to the Rules of our Discipline to Testify against such Unwarrantable Conduct.

And lest thou shouldst be imposed upon in future by any Professing with us, we now inform thee, that the Order established by our Society in such Cases is, when any Person inclines to move, that they first inform the Meeting to which they belong of their intentions, and if the Meeting approbates the same, they furnish them with a Minute or Certificate Signed by order and on behalf of said Meeting, any other Recommendations whatsoever in such cases, are not approved by us.

Signed for and on behalf of West Land Monthly Meeting of said People, held in Washington County, Pennsylvania, the 27th of the 3rd Month (called March) 1790, by all the Committee appointed except one who was not present.

To the Board of the Land Office, District of Hesse.

Whereas David England produced an Extract from the Minutes of your Office (Signed T. Smith Clk.) also a copy of a Petition to the Governor, to one of our Meetings; respecting which procedure we have written more at large to the Governor as enclosed, to which we refer you more particular Information, and request your Care and Assistance in forwarding the same to him.

Signed for, &c. as above.

(5-22-1790)

The Friends appointed report that they had an opportunity with David England, and though he appeared Friendly, yet continued to Vindicate what he had done, therefore they prepared a Testimony against him, which was produced approved and Signed. John Dixon and John Cope are appointed to the further service agreeable to Discipline and report to next Meeting.

NOTE.—The records of the Friends' Meetings in Fayette and Washington Counties are now mostly in the care of the Friends at Salem, Ohio, but the registers of births and deaths are missing. It is much to be desired that their whereabouts may be known, and the originals or copies obtained, to add to the other records.

GILBERT COPE.

West Chester, Pa., 1909.

A PROJECT FOR A FRIENDS' SETTLEMENT IN CANADA, 1796.

The preceding paper gave an account of an effort to form a settlement of Friends in Canada in 1789-1790. From the following letter it would seem that a somewhat similar project was being considered a few years later.

The writer of the letter, Benjamin Gilbert, was the fifth child and second son of Benjamin and Sarah (Mason) Gilbert (first wife), and was born 31st of First month, 1741. John Gilbert, to whom the letter is addressed, was Gilbert's next youngest brother, born 23d of Fifth month, 1743. Joshua, the next, was born 19th of Twelfth month, 1747-48, and Caleb was the youngest, born 1754. Abner Gilbert, born 1766, was the son of Benjamin and his second wife, Elizabeth (Walton) Peart (a widow) Gilbert, and therefore a half-brother of the writer of the letter. These genealogical statistics seem needful to make the references in the letter clear to a reader. Abner Gilbert was the grandfather of our friend Gilbert Cope, of West Chester, Pennsylvania, who has kindly furnished this letter, as well as the documents in the preceding paper, on Westland Monthly Meeting.

It should be added that Benjamin Gilbert, father of the writer of the letter, was the Friend, who, with several members of his family, and some neighbors, was taken captive by the Indians in 1780, and whose "Narrative" has gone through eight or nine editions. The most complete edition is that edited by F. H. Severance, Cleveland, Ohio. Burrows Brothers Co., 1904. See also Joseph Smith's "Descriptive Catalogue of Friends' Books," I, 843.

Westmoreland County the 6th of the 10th moth 1796.

ESTEEMED BROTHER:

After our salutation of Love to thee, thy Wife & Family I may inform thee I have been meditating on a matter which I conceive may be profitable to ourselves and others if approved and rightly conducted. I wish to proceed with counsel and advice as the matter is of great consequence and demands weighty consideration weighing both the present and the future.

The matter is to form a settlement of Friends on the northwest side of Lake Earie in the British territories as there is an opening for it and the most generous terms offered by them to Settlers a man getting 200 Acres for himself 50 for his wife & 50 for every Child Male Children above sixteen draw 200 and the whole expense to one settler but ten Dollars when the Patent is given. They consider the case of those who have suffer'd in the late war and were not disaffected to the British Government there is no doubt with me but each male of our Family may on application receive a grant for eight hundred Acres and I am not without hopes that a grant for a Township might be obtain'd for our use but if that cannot be obtained I think it highly probable that a reserve of a Township for the settlement of Friends might. It has been represented to me as a pleasantly situated Country level well watered & Timbered the soil very rich and fertile the climate moderate and healthy there are Fish in abundance. Deer, Hare, Geese, Ducks, Feasants, &c. For a more particular account I refer thee to a Letter I wrote Jesse in which I express'd a confidence that a Township grant might be obtained for our Family but from account since received I am not quite so confident I also wrote to Abner, see both the letters. Consult Brother Joshua and Caleb if he is in a situation fit for consultation and send me your minds on the subject as soon as may be for if anything is done it should be done next summer I wish to receive your sentiments on the matter as early as it can be obtain'd for I think it advisable previous to making any endeavours to obtain a reserve of a Township for a settlement for Friends to consult at least some weighty Friends thereon and take their advice. I expect they will hardly disapprove a matter that if rightly conducted

may be beneficial to many as there are many well dispos'd Friends who being low in Circumstance find hard struggling to feed and Clothe their numerous offspring and others who having no settled homes Labour among others often in hurry and discomposure which has a tendency to retard their progress in real Virtue. The opening a way to release those from their embarrass'd situation I think a good work. The difficulty of moving to and the hardship of improving a new Country may appear to some very great I know what they are and tho they are considerable for a time yet they are not so great as I believe imagination frequently represent them. As to moving, there is a waggon road now opening from Pittsburgh to Prisqueile about 150 miles; from thence I expect a passage may be had in British Vessels across the Lake to grand River or Kettle Creek the passage may be made I am told with a fair wind in twenty four hours Horses and Cattle must be taken a longer rout If you after consultation shu'd think it an object worth attending to and send me your minds distinctly on the matter I shall endeavour to do what I can for you We are in tolerable health at present and send our Love to you And with due respect remain thy well wishing

To
JOHN GILBERT
in
Chester
County.

Brother
BENJ'N GILBERT.

THE PASSING OF NORTH MEETING-HOUSE, PHILADELPHIA.

It seems fitting that the passing of this old meeting-house should be mentioned in the BULLETIN. The following notes are taken partly from a notice in the *Philadelphia Public Ledger* and partly from other sources:

The old meeting-house of Orthodox Friends at Sixth and Noble Streets, Philadelphia, has been purchased by the Richard Smith estate for \$75,000, for use as a children's playground, which will prove a great boon to that congested section.

This section of the city was formerly one of the best residence quarters in Philadelphia. The appearance of the dwellings on Sixth Street and Marshall Street to-day, for the most part spacious four-story houses with large lots, indicates plainly

the character of the section when they were built. In the late eighties the neighborhood began to decline rapidly. With the change in the neighborhood the old meeting-house, like many other churches in the older sections of the city, outlived its usefulness as a place of worship.

Only a few blocks away the old Green Street Meeting-house, built in 1814, which belonged to the Race Street Friends, is now occupied by the Friends' Neighborhood Guild. It is interesting to see both of these centres turned into centres of new life for the children of their neighborhoods.

The sale of the meeting-house at Sixth and Noble Streets leaves the properties at Fourth and Arch, on Twelfth Street, above Chestnut, and at Fifteenth and Race Streets, as the only memorials in brick and mortar in the city's centre of the early religious influences of Friends. The meetings where attendance is largest now are in the suburbs and the country.

The Monthly Meeting for the Northern District was first held Eleventh month 24, 1772. The first meeting-house was "on Front Street, on the bank of the Delaware." The next house was on Keys Alley between Sassafras (Race) and Vine and Front and Second Streets. This house was first occupied Ninth month 21, 1789. The meeting increased so much in size that another house was built 1814 at the southwest corner of Fourth and Green Streets, and was first used on the 26th of Fourth month of that year. This was the "Green Street Meeting-house" so prominent at the time of the Separation, 1827-1828. At the time of the Separation it passed into the hands of Race Street Friends. The old North Meeting-house on Keys Alley proving too small, a new house was built on the corner of Sixth and Noble Streets, and was first occupied Eighth month 12, 1838. This is the house just sold (1918). The total cost of the house, lot and surrounding wall, was \$70,194.53. The dimensions of the building were 118 by 65 feet, with "a height of 30 feet to the square." The capacity of the main room was "about 1200 persons."

Among the prominent Friends who at some time or other attended at this, the latest "North Meeting-house," during its existence, were William Scattergood, George M. Elkinton, Samuel

F. Balderston (ministers), Elizabeth Pittfield, Sarah Hillman, Hannah Whitehill (ministers), Joseph Rakestraw, Uriah Hunt, Nathan Trotter, Joel Cadbury (the elder), John M. Whitall, Dr. Joseph Whitall, Benjamin Warder, Horatio C. Wood, David Scull, John S. Stokes, Jacob R. Elfreth, Elihu Pickering, Henry Pemberton, Pliny E. Chase, Mary Hillman, Sarah Lippincott, Sarah Rakestraw, Margaret Justice, Rebecca Richardson.

WERE GENERALS NATHANAEL GREENE AND JACOB BROWN "FIGHTING QUAKERS"?

In the *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society* (Vol. XV, p. 48), recently received, the account of General Nathanael Greene of Revolutionary fame as given by Horace Mather Lippincott, in his "A Portraiture of the People Called Quakers," is reprinted. Attention has been called in more than one journal to inaccuracies in this volume, and General Greene has been referred to more than once as a "Fighting Quaker." The following extract from his "Life" by his grandson, George W. Greene, will show with how much justice such a statement can be made.

"He," Nathanael Greene, "felt that his country had the same right to his services in the field which he had recognized as her unquestionable right in the council chamber. But he knew he could not take a sword in his hand without exposing himself to be cast out from the religious society with which he had lived in unbroken harmony from his earliest childhood. . . . But he took his resolution deliberately and ever after abided firmly by it. Yet although from the first his sentiments must have been known to the "meeting," and consequently condemned, it was not till he had made a public profession of them by attending a military parade at Plainfield near the Rhode Island border, that it took public notice of them. Then says the record:

"At our monthly Meeting held at Cranston on the 5th of Seventh month 1773 . . . Whereas this meeting is informed that Nathanael and Griffin Greene have been at a place in Connecti-

cut of public resort where they had no proper business, therefore this meeting appoints Ephraim Congdon, Jared Greene, and Cary Spencer, to make inquiry into the matter, and to make report at our next monthly meeting." The committee reported the next month that they had no opportunity with them. At the meeting held the 6th of Ninth month the report was "they had given no satisfaction." On the 30th of Ninth month, 1773, the minute reads: "The matter referred to this meeting concerning Nathanael and Griffin Greene as they have not given this meeting any satisfaction for their outgoing and misconduct, therefore this meeting doth put them from under the care of the meeting until they make satisfaction for their misconduct and appoint John Greene to inform of the same."¹

It is quite clear from the above that his grandson lays the emphasis on his military views as constraining him to take such a course as would inevitably lead to disownment, and whatever may have been Greene's love of dancing, as H. M. Lippincott claims, his separation from Friends was due to his views and practices regarding *war*. So states his grandson who doubtless knew what he was writing about.

General Jacob Brown (1775-1828) is also claimed to be a "Fighting Quaker." His ancestors and parents were Friends, the latter living in Bucks County, Pennsylvania. Jacob Brown entered the University of Pennsylvania at the early age of twelve years, and was granted the degree of A.B. in 1790. About 1793 he began teaching school at Crosswicks, New Jersey, a Friends' School, we are told. From twenty-one to twenty-three he was a surveyor of public land in the neighborhood of Cincinnati, Ohio. In 1798 he removed to New York City, and was, for a few months only, head of a public school.²

¹ "Life of Nathanael Greene," by George Washington Greene. New York, 1871, Vol. 1, pp. 69-72.

² H. M. Lippincott calls this "Friends' School," but Henry Vethake in the *Biographical Supplement* to the old *Encyclopædia Americana*, says, "a public school." As Friends were then foremost in public school education in New York City, it is probable that it was a school under the general direction of Friends and not a Friends' School in the technical sense.

In 1799 he removed to a tract of land which he had purchased in Jefferson County, New York State, then considered far west. This land was a few miles southwest of the outlet of Lake Ontario. The settlement prospered and the village of Brownville (not *Brownsville*)³ sprung up and flourished. This village is about ten miles northwest of Watertown.

The account of Jacob Brown's military career is apparently correct. There is no evidence adduced to show that Jacob Brown held any specially Quaker views. The statement, "He was brought up on his father's farm with Quaker views and habits," seems to be an inference only. As he entered college at twelve years of age, supported himself from the age of sixteen, and left Pennsylvania certainly at eighteen, the home influence cannot have been very great. He was practically away from even Quaker surroundings after he was twenty-one, if not before; and there is nothing to show that he was more than a nominal Friend, and even *that*, so far as known, he did not claim to be. To call him "A Fighting Quaker" is very much of an assumption, unless nominal membership makes a true Quaker, a position which George Fox would have emphatically disclaimed.

AN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY VIEW OF THE QUAKERS.

"The war of 1755 . . . occasioned heavy expenses, which the colonies were obliged to pay. The Quakers were subjected to them, as well as others; but they not only refused, as a society, to pay taxes, of which war was the object, but they excommunicated those who paid them. They persevered in this practice in the last war [that of Independence].

"At this time an animosity was kindled against them, which is not yet extinguished. Faithful to their principles, they declared, that they would take no part in this war, and they excom-

³ The "[Ohio]" in *Journal of Friends' Historical Society*, XV, 47, is an error in the reprint.

municated all such as joined either the American or the British army.

“I am well convinced of the sacred and divine principle which authorises resistance to oppression; and I am well convinced that oppression was here manifest; I must therefore blame the neutrality of the Quakers on this occasion, when their brethren were fighting for independence. But I believe, likewise, that it was wrong to persecute them so violently for their pacific neutrality.

“If this instance of their refusal had been the first of the kind or if it had been dictated by secret attachment to the British cause certainly they would have been guilty, and this persecution would perhaps have been legitimate. But this neutrality was commanded by their religious opinions, constantly professed, and practiced by the society from its origin.

“No person has spoken to me with more impartiality respecting the Quakers than General Washington, that celebrated man, whose spirit of justice is remarkable in every thing. He declared to me, that, in the course of the war, he had entertained an ill opinion of this society; he knew but little of them, as at that time there were but few of that sect in Virginia; and he had attributed to their political sentiments, the effect of their religious principles. He told me that since having known them better, he acquired an esteem for them; that, considering the simplicity of their manners, the purity of their morals, their exemplary economy, and their attachment to the Constitution, he considered this society as one of the best supports of the new government, which requires a great moderation, and a total banishment of luxury.”

From “*New Travels in the United States of America.*” etc. By J. P. Brissot de Warville. London, 1797. Vol. I, pp. 356-358.

[NOTE.—The above extract has been reprinted more than once in Friends’ periodicals, but it seems worth while to reprint it again.—EDITOR.]

QUAKERS IN COLONIAL VIRGINIA.

"During the greater part of the Colonial period, there were in Virginia but few dissenters from the Church of England, with the exception of the Quakers—who had all the virtues of their sect, but, save in certain customs peculiar to them, they seem to have lived very much like their neighbors. In the seventeenth century they were subjected to harsh persecution, and some of them were whipped, imprisoned or banished, yet as long this lasted they increased and prospered. There was happily a cessation of the persecution after James II's declaration permitting liberty of conscience, which was proclaimed in Virginia, and ordered to be 'celebrated with beate of Drum and the Firing of ye Great Gunns, and with all the Joyfulness that this Collony is capable to Express.'"

"During most of the eighteenth century the Quakers were permitted to quietly attend their meeting houses, but, like all dissenters, were taxed for the support of the Established Church. Though they far outnumbered any other dissenting body in the Colony during most of the period, they were far too few to produce any noticeable effect on the manners and customs of the general population. . . .

"Richard Russell, a Quaker of Lower Norfolk, . . . about 1670 left part of his estate for the education of children of the poor in his neighborhood."

From "Colonial Virginia, Its People and Customs," by Mary Newton Stannard. J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia, 1917, pp. 338, 339; 268.

[NOTE.—This Richard Russell was the Friend at whose house on "May 3, 1663, twelve persons were arrested," and he "fined £100 for entertaining and permitting the meeting, half of which went to the informer, William Hill, High Shreive." "On "the 12th of November twenty-two persons called Quakers were arrested at Richard Russell's house where John Porter, Junior, was speaking. The preachers were fined 500 pounds of tobacco, and each attender 200 pounds." Cited in R. M. Jones, "Quakers in American Colonies," pp. 274, 275.]

BOOKS, ETC., OF INTEREST TO FRIENDS.

The Swarthmore Lecture, 1918. The New Social Outlook. By Lucy Fryer Morland, B.A. London, Headley Brothers, Publishers, Ltd., 1918. 5x7½ inches, pp. 59. 1s. 6d.

This, the eleventh of the series of Swarthmore Lectures, is the shortest and the most unconventional. It is distinctly *modern* in its view, some would say *radical*; but no one can read this lecture without being impressed by its plea for a thorough change from the old-fashioned attitude of Friends and other Christian bodies, which the lecturer states to be, "acceptance of existing conditions from a religious point of view. Providence had ordained for each his place and his circumstances, and had provided spiritual comfort and the hope of another and better world." In other words, there was little or no effort to bring about what the lecturer terms "*Self-determination*, the freedom for each man to work out his own destiny, to develop to his full manhood"; and "*Co-operation*—the voluntary merging of some personal and private liberty into that of the organized group, in order to achieve a wider freedom." (Pages 15, 32.)

How far Friends are recognizing the importance of some such lines as these is indicated by the report made to the London Yearly Meeting of 1918 by its "War and Social Order Committee," and the discussion thereon as printed in *The Friend* (London) for Fifth month 31, Sixth month 7, 1918; and by the report of its "Social Order Committee to the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of 1918." (See Extracts from Minutes, 1918, pages 78-84.)

Without in the slightest degree questioning the need or the duty of the church to take an active part in forwarding movements for the betterment of social conditions, the church should continue to see to it that the spiritual is not minimized. Where external needs are intensely great there is always a danger of overlooking, for the time at least, the needs of the soul, and this tends to become a habit.

An Admiral's Son, and How He Founded Pennsylvania. By E. F. O'Brien ("K. K. K."). Illustrated by Arthur Twidle. London, Headley Brothers, Publishers, Ltd. [1918]. 5x7½ inches, pp. 176. 2s. 6d. \$1.10.

This small book is a praiseworthy effort to present some of the main features of William Penn's life and character in a manner attractive to young persons. How successfully the work has been done can only be known by trial with young readers.

The narrative is based on the various biographies of Penn, and appears to be correct on all essential points. Some slight errors in matters of detail might be noted. Pennsbury is spoken of as "not far off" from Philadelphia (page 97), but this is a relative term, and most per-

sons would, in the connection where it is used, hardly consider twenty-five miles "not far off." Penn's daughter is called "Letty" (page 137), but Penn himself always speaks of her as "Tishé." Whether the "rock" mentioned on page 142 is on the *right* or *left* hand side of the road as one rides from Philadelphia is not certainly known.

David Lloyd is named as one who "did much harm to his [Penn's] cause" (page 161). There is another side to the question, as readers of Isaac Sharpless's paper on David Lloyd in *THE BULLETIN* (Vol. V, 36, 74) will remember. The question being rather an intricate political one, is hardly suitable to be taken up in an elementary work as this. In speaking of the "Walking Purchase" (pages 169, 173), John and Thomas Penn are both charged with that iniquitous transaction. Thomas Penn was the responsible party. John Penn was in England at the time. It is not enough to say that "The Friends all left the Assembly (1755)," because "They would not agree to offer money for the scalps of the Indian men and women, as the other members wished to do." The reason was far more extended than that—it involved, what would now be called, the whole question of militarism.

Friends' Quarterly Examiner for Fourth and Seventh Months, 1918.—Since our last issue the numbers of *Friends' Quarterly Examiner* for Fourth and Seventh months have come to hand. They are unusually interesting. In the number for Fourth month, the account of the working of the "Liquor Control Board" in Carlisle (see "From the House of the Four Winds") is worthy of careful reading. The paper by Joseph Bevan Braithwaite on "The Society of Friends and the Limitations of Its Peace Testimony" will undoubtedly surprise many, both because of the position taken, and because of the inaccurate, and inconsequent statements made. Were not the paper so ably answered by Rose Bellows and Margaret Hirst, in the number for Seventh month, some reply would have been called for. It might be said, however, that whatever views *individuals* may express, the *official* statements of a body must be taken as giving the doctrines of that body as a whole. Friends have suffered from unauthorized statements more than most. Who takes an individual opinion as final in regard to the doctrines of the Episcopalians, Presbyterians, or Methodists? Yet if any one signing himself "a Quaker" sends a letter to a newspaper, too often his words are taken as authoritative.

In the number for Seventh month, the paper by Stephen Hobhouse on "The Silence System in British Prisons," written out of a stern personal experience, will claim close attention. We all like to hear what others think of us, and so one of the earliest papers read will be that on "Quakerism in America," by W. Blair Neathy. It is sufficient to say that "What I Saw of Quakerism in America" would be a better title for the account of a visit of only a few weeks' duration. Five days in Richmond,

Indiana, even at a Five Years Meeting, is a short time to judge accurately of Western Quakerism, or conditions in the great Middle West and on the Pacific Coast, as well as elsewhere.

The symposium on "The Teaching of Friends' Principles at School" is full of suggestion.

In the *Quarterly Review* for July, 1918 (London), our friend, Stephen Hobhouse, writes more fully concerning prison life in England in his paper, "An English Prison from Within." Rarely has any prison system had such an able exposition by an actual "convict." A prisoner on account of lofty religious scruples, he shared in the experiences of those committed for criminal offences, and his testimony should have great weight, and should stimulate efforts for the abolishment of a system which, whatever its aim may be, is cruel and degrading to body and to soul. The sad experiences of the Quakers of the seventeenth century of which we used to read with wonder and with pity are paralleled by those of the twentieth century. *Mirabile Dictu!*

Notes on Old Gloucester County, New Jersey. Historical Records Published by the New Jersey Society of Philadelphia. Volume I. Compiled and Edited by Frank H. Stewart, Historian of the Society. 1917. [No place, no publisher.]

This volume is the first publication of a society formed for the laudable purpose of collecting and preserving historical and genealogical records relating to New Jersey. It is to be hoped that the society will continue its good work. The present volume contains much of interest to Friends, as, for instance, "Samuel Mickle's Diary, 1792-1829," 100 pages of extracts; "Job Whitall's Diary, 1776-1777," six pages, relating to Revolutionary War; Extracts from "Diary of Ann Whitall, 1760-1780," two pages. There is also a paper by our friend, Samuel N. Rhoads, on "Haddon Hall," ten pages, a reprint in part of his paper in the *BULLETIN*, Volume III, pages 58-70. The editor seems to be rather new to his work, as both the editing and the indexing might be much improved.

NOTE.—A few copies were on sale at "The State House Book-Shop" (N. F. McGirr), 221 South Fifth Street, Philadelphia.

A History of the Christian Church. By Williston Walker. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1918.

This stout octavo volume of 624 pages by Professor Walker, of Yale University, is a wonder of compression. It is written with the author's well known fairness. One section, two and a half pages, is given to "The Quakers," besides one or two other brief references. His treatment, considering the space he was able to allow, is fair. His statement (page

480). "In that year 1666 Monthly Meetings were established" is hardly correct. Such meetings were held as early as 1653, and seem to have been pretty general by 1660.¹ According to Thomas Ellwood, George Fox went about "through the countries . . . to set up *Monthly* and *Quarterly Meetings*." Fox was in Ellwood's county, Buckinghamshire, in 1666 and 1668, and doubtless did set up monthly meetings, but they were common in the northern counties, and probably Fox wished to increase the number, especially in the south. It was not a new, or a general institution, as Ellwood's words might not unreasonably imply.

Life and Works of Amos M. Kenworthy. By Lydia M. Williams-Cammack and Truman C. Kenworthy. Nicholson Printing Co., Richmond, Ind., 1918. 7¾ x 5¾ in., pp. xiii, 292. \$1.10.

Amos M. Kenworthy (1831-1917) was an unusual character, and if any life of him was thought to be desirable, it should have been a far better one than this, which indeed is not a "life" at all, but rather an ill-digested and ill-arranged scrap-book of anecdotes and opinions concerning him. The only part of the book which could be called a "life" is that (about sixty pages) devoted to his visit to Great Britain and Ireland. The "Works" are about a hundred pages of "Sermon Notes." Five portraits and one view are given. Typographical errors and wrong spellings abound, particularly in the letters from abroad.

The Journal of Samuel Rowland Fisher, of Philadelphia, 1779-1781, which has been appearing in several numbers of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (see BULLETIN, VII, 107; VIII, 43), has been privately issued separately in an attractive form, by his great-granddaughter, Anna Wharton Morris, of Philadelphia. Students of Quaker history have reason to thank the owner for allowing this interesting and valuable record to be printed.

¹ Braithwaite, "The Beginnings of Quakerism," pp. 329 ff.; "Letters of Early Friends," pp. 228-292; "Epistles," London Yearly Meeting, 1858, p. vi; "Journal of George Fox," Bi-Centennial Edition, ii, 79, 90; Ellwood, Autobiog. (Crump's edition, 1900), pp. 152, 153.

NOTES AND QUERIES

WAGES IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. — "But I shall tell you Schollers of *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, in your rhimes and in your Lodgick, it would be more pleasing to God for you to get a spade on your backs, & a great old glove; and a bill in your hand, and stop gaps and make up old hedges and thresh out corn, & go amongst the day labouring men for 3d a day."—From a Postscript to "To the Musicioners," etc., by Humphrey Smith, 1658, by G[orge] F[ox].

BOOK NOTICES.—In the *American Historical Review*, July, 1918, Louise Creighton's "Life and Letters of Thomas Hodgkin" is the subject of an appreciative review by Prof. Ephraim Emerton, of Harvard University; and Rayner W. Kelsey's "Friends and the Indians" is reviewed by Francis E. Leupp, formerly United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs, also favorably.

CEDAR CREEK MEETING HOUSE, 1770.—In Mary Newton Stannard's "Colonial Virginia," noted on a previous page, there is given (page 329) a picture of the "Quaker Meeting House, Cedar Creek, Hanover County, Virginia, built in 1770." This house, built of brick said to have been imported from England, was about

twenty-five miles northwest of Richmond. It was burned down about twenty years ago. It had not been used by Friends for a long period.

FRIENDS IN THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF AMERICAN LITERATURE.—In the first volume of this work (1917), the only one as yet published, Friends naturally play a small part. To John Woolman, whom Prof. Woodbridge Riley, of Vassar College, calls "a sort of provincial Piers Plowman," are given two pages of appreciative notice. Too much emphasis is laid upon him as "an humble tailor." As a matter of fact, Woolman was by no means an uneducated man; he had taught school, and had read considerably in the best literature of the day; he, moreover, wrote many wills, deeds, and leases.

Alice Curwen, Robert Barrow, Jonathan Dickinson, and George Keith are little more than mentioned; John Bartram and William Bartram have one or more paragraphs.

FRIENDS' UNIT IN FRANCE, 1917.—Elizabeth Shepley Sergeant (A.B., Bryn Mawr, 1903), in her article in the *Century* for October, 1918, entitled "Nothing is Lost: Reconstruction and Evacuation Work in Northern

France" (autumn of 1917), writes as follows: "At Gruný, Golancourt, and Ham, units of the English and American Friends, allied with the Red Cross, were patching roofs and windows and helping out with agricultural work. No work was too menial for the Friends, though a great part of them were college graduates, and they had probably done more for the land than any *one* of the American group." (Page 730.)

There is also a fine illustration, "Quaker Boys Repairing the Neuve Blangy's Roof at Gruný."

A QUAKER SOCIALIST MOVEMENT.—In the *Nation* (New York) for September 14, 1918, there is an interesting letter by Herbert W. Horwill, dated London, August 7, 1918, on "A Quaker Socialist Movement." The letter merits perusal.

OHIO YEARLY MEETING.—Our friend, Watson W. Dewees, of Haverford, began in *The Friend* (Philadelphia) for Eighth month 23, "Notes on the Early History of Ohio Yearly Meeting." They will run through several numbers of *The Friend*.

JOURNAL OF THE FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—The last issue of this periodical is a double number (Vol. XV, Nos. 1 and 2). As usual there is much of interest. The letter of Joseph Bringhurst and those of Frederick Smith to the Poet Cowper, and

his reply, are worthy of special notice. The department of "Notes and Queries" is also very good.

AN OPINION OF JOHN WOOLMAN.—"The Journal of John Woolman (1720-1772), a disciple of Fox born in New Jersey, was greatly admired by Whittier, and has a charm of its own for devout readers. Woolman had a beautiful soul, with a most Christlike spirit and deep love for man, but he had no common sense whatever, and was governed wholly by impressions in the most fanatical way—an interesting personage who causes in us much wonderment." — James Mudge, in *The Biblical Review Quarterly*, New York, July, 1918, pp. 452, 453.

A SEVENTEENTH CENTURY BOOK TITLE.—"The Voice of one crying in the Wilderness, or the Business of a Christian, both antecedaneous to, and concomitant of, and consequent upon, a sore and heavy Visitation," by S. S. [Samuel Shand], 1668.

FRIENDS' SETTLEMENTS IN WESTERN NEW YORK, 1792.—In connection with the papers on settlements of Friends in Canada (pages 100-106), the following quotation from letters describing settlements in western New York, 1791-1792, will be interesting. The "Genesee Tract," referred to, was a tract of land eighty miles long by forty-two miles wide, situated just west of Seneca Lake.

"Beside these settlers [those from New York, New England and Pennsylvania] who actually occupy the Genesee Tract, there is an establishment of Quakers, called the Friends' Settlement, situated on the eastern ridge of the grant, and at the outlet of the Crooked Lake [now called Keuka Lake], consisting of 260 persons, who are very industrious and have already made considerable improvements, having completed an excellent grist and saw mill some time since. It is expected there will be double that number before a twelvemonth." 1791-1792.

"The settlements formed by a society of Friends on the west side of the Seneca Lake, is the most considerable; it consists of about 40 families." 1792.

E. B. O'Callaghan, "Documentary History of New York," Vol. II, 648, 659.

A LIST OF QUAKER BOOKS.—Under its awkward and rather unmeaning name, the "Yorkshire 1905 Committee" has done excellent work in spreading reliable information and knowledge concerning Quaker doctrine, practice, biography and history. In number A34 of its publications, "Extension through the Printed Word—Libraries, Literature and Advertising," much valuable information is given regarding Quaker literature and how it should be used. There are also suggestions concerning "Advertising of Friends' Meetings." While much applies only to Great Britain and Ireland some suggestions might be worked out in America. A supplement gives a useful "List of Quaker Books Suitable for Meeting House Libraries." Many of the books would be desirable in American libraries.

In order to conserve paper, labor, etc., one copy only of the BULLETIN will be sent to a household. If another copy is desired by a member of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia, kindly notify Mary S. Allen, secretary, 24 West St., Media, Pa.

CONSTITUTION

of

Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia

ARTICLE I.

NAME.

This Association shall be denominated Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia.

ARTICLE II.

OBJECTS.

The objects of the Society shall be to collect manuscripts, heirlooms, antiques and other material and data of historical or sentimental importance for preservation or publication, for the elucidation of the history of the Society of Friends and for the promotion of historical interest and research among its members.

ARTICLE III.

MEMBERSHIP.

All persons interested in the purposes of the Society are eligible for membership and may be elected thereto by majority vote at any meeting of the Society or of the Council.

Any member of the Society of Friends (not resident in Philadelphia) well known for his researches in the history of Friends may be elected an Honorary Member of this Society. Such members shall enjoy all the privileges of membership except voting, and shall be exempt from the payment of dues.

ARTICLE IV.

OFFICERS.

The officers of the Society shall consist of a President, two Vice-Presidents, a Secretary and a Treasurer, all of whom shall be elected annually—also of twelve Councillors, six of whom shall be elected each year.

The officers shall be ex-officio members of the Council, and both officers and Councillors shall be members of the Religious Society of Friends.

ARTICLE V.

FUNDS.

All life membership dues, legacies, bequests, amounts over-subscribed to special funds, and such funds or other amounts as may from time to time be so appropriated by the Council, shall constitute a Permanent Fund, to be kept invested, and the income therefrom to be used for the general purposes of the Society.

The Permanent Fund may be used for other purposes of a substantial and permanent character, upon majority vote of the Society, after one year's prior notice in writing stating the specific purposes proposed.

ARTICLE VI.

BY-LAWS.

The details of management of the Society shall be provided for in the By-Laws.

ARTICLE VII.

AMENDMENTS.

This Constitution may be amended at any meeting of the Society, provided that a notice of the intended amendment shall have been given two months in advance.

BY-LAWS
of
Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia

ARTICLE I.

ANNUAL MEETING.

The Annual Meeting of the Society shall be held on the last Second-day of the Eleventh month, at such place and hour as the Council may decide. Other meetings of the Society, either for the transaction of business or for the consideration of historical subjects, may be called by the Council giving due notice.

ARTICLE II.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

1. Roll Call.
2. Reading of Minutes of previous stated meeting and special meetings.
3. Report of Treasurer.
4. Report of Standing Committees.
5. Report of Special Committees.
6. Unfinished Business.
7. New Business.

ARTICLE III.

NOMINATING COMMITTEE.

At each Annual Meeting a Committee shall be appointed by the President to make nominations to the next Annual Meeting for Officers and Councillors. Other nominations may be presented over the signatures of three members at any Annual Meeting.

ARTICLE IV.

COUNCIL.

The Officers of the Society shall also be the Officers of the Council. Vacancies among the Officers or Councillors may be filled by the Council.

ARTICLE V.

ANNUAL DUES.

The minimum annual subscription shall be one dollar, and the payment of \$50.00 by a member shall constitute life membership. Non-payment of an annual subscription for two successive years upon due notice by the Secretary, shall constitute withdrawal from membership.

ARTICLE VI.

MEETINGS OF COUNCIL.

The Council shall meet at the call of the President, or upon the request of three members of the Council. Seven members shall constitute a quorum.

ARTICLE VII.

COMMITTEES.

The President shall appoint from the Officers or Councillors :

1. Committee on Finance, to consist of three members, who with the Treasurer shall collect and control the income and disbursements of the Society, and shall have the custody of the Permanent Fund and securities comprising it.

2. Committee on Historical Research, to suggest lines of research, to bring forward matters of interest, to have charge of all collections of historical matter ; and to make such investigations as are necessary in regard to proposed deposits.

3. Publication Committee of three members.

ARTICLE VIII.

AMENDMENTS.

Amendments to these By-Laws may be made by the Council when offered in writing at any meeting of the Council, notice having been given at least one month previously.

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ERRATUM.

Vol. VIII, page 58, ll. 15, 22, etc., for *Derken* read *Dirkin*.

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THE REVOLUTIONARY JOURNAL OF MARGARET
MORRIS, OF BURLINGTON, N. J., DECEMBER
6, 1776, TO JUNE 11, 1778.

INTRODUCTION.

Margaret (Hill) Morris, the author of the following Journal, was the eighth child and sixth daughter of Richard Hill, of South River, near Annapolis, Maryland, and his wife, Deborah Moore, a granddaughter of Thomas Lloyd, the friend of William Penn. Richard Hill was a physician and also a trader (shipping merchant). Through bad debts, and losses at sea, tradition says by privateers, he became greatly embarrassed, and to mend his fortunes, moved (1739) to Funchal, Island of Madeira, entered into the wine and commission business, was very successful, and paid his old creditors principal and interest. He returned to America in 1761, his wife having died a short time before he sailed, and he himself died not long after his arrival in Philadelphia.

On going to Madeira, the parents left six of their children including Margaret, then about two years old, to the care of their daughter Hannah, not sixteen years old, but already the wife of her cousin, Dr. Samuel Preston Moore, of Philadelphia. It was under the care of this sister and her husband that Margaret Hill was brought up. How well it was done the after lives of this young group testify. This sister, Hannah, had no children of her own.

Margaret Hill was born in 1737, and was married in 1758 to William Morris, Jr., a descendant of the first Anthony Morris, who came to Pennsylvania in the time of William Penn. William Morris was a drygoods merchant in Philadelphia. He died in 1766 leaving three children to whom was added a posthumous child, making four children under the age of seven for the young mother to bring up.

William Morris was not able to leave his family more than moderately well provided for, and in 1770 Margaret Morris moved to Burlington, New Jersey, to make her home with her sister Sarah who had married George Dillwyn. Her youngest sister,

Milcah Martha Moore (married to Dr. Charles Moore) was at this time also residing in Burlington. Margaret Morris lived in the house on Green Bank fronting on the Delaware, which had been occupied by William Franklin,¹ Governor of New Jersey. This house is the scene of the incidents related in the Journal.

In addition to other accomplishments, Margaret Morris had a very considerable knowledge of medicine, and really practiced medicine, doubtless one of the first women in America to do so. It is related of her that at one time she had thirty patients with smallpox.

Into the further life of Margaret Morris it is not possible to enter. It is sufficient to say that it was one of great beauty and usefulness. She died in 1816 aged seventy-nine.

The "Revolutionary Journal," kept for the amusement of her sister, Milcah Martha Moore,² is a fragment. Fifty copies were printed in 1836 for private circulation only, and it was again printed for private circulation in John Jay Smith's "Letters of the Hill Family," 1854. The original "Journal" is now in the possession of Haverford College. As the manuscript is considerably worn and the paper fragile, it has been thought advisable to reprint it in the BULLETIN for preservation. The text here given is taken from that in the "Letters of the Hill Family," carefully compared with the original and corrected in accordance with it, with the exception of the punctuation which is irregular and sometimes wanting altogether. The spelling is in a few instances slightly modernized, but the proper names are given as they are written and any corrections are put in brackets or in notes. In John Jay Smith's text there are many slight differences

¹ William Franklin was the illegitimate son of Benjamin Franklin. It was never disclosed who his mother was, but he was brought up in his father's house and well educated. He was appointed Governor of New Jersey in 1762. He became a British sympathizer and was arrested in 1776, was imprisoned for two years, was finally exchanged in 1778, and went to New York. He removed in 1782 to England, where he remained the rest of his life.

² Dr. Charles and Milcah Martha Moore had removed to Montgomery Square, Pennsylvania.

and additions, and some omissions; with a single exception³ these latter are unimportant and in no way alter the sense. In every case the reading of the original has been restored. Where possible, full names are given in the notes for the initials in the text.

THE JOURNAL.

Dec. 6, 1776. Being on a visit to my friend, M. S. at Had-donfield, I was preparing to return to my family, when a person from Philadelphia told me that the people there were in great commotion; that the English fleet was in the river, and hourly expected to sail up to the city; that the inhabitants were removing into the country; and that several persons of considerable repute had been discovered to have formed a design of setting fire to the city, and were summoned before the congress and strictly enjoined to drop the horrid purpose. When I heard the above report, my heart almost died within me, and I cried, surely the Lord will not punish the innocent with the guilty, and I wished there might be found some interceding Lots and Abrahams amongst *our people*. On my journey home, I was told the inhabitants of our little town [Burlington] were going in haste into the country, and that my nearest neighbours were already removed. When I heard this, I felt myself quite sick; I was ready to faint. I thought of my S. D.,⁴ the beloved companion of my widowed state—her husband at a distance of some hundred miles from her; I thought of my own lonely situation—no husband to cheer with the voice of love my sinking spirits. My little flock, too, without a father to direct them how to steer. All these things crowded into my mind at once, and I felt like one forsaken; a flood of friendly tears came to my relief, and I felt a humble confidence that He who had been with me in six troubles, would

³ This will be discussed in a later note. There is little doubt that the journal was copied in manuscript, and some of the variations in J. J. Smith's text would indicate that he may have used a copy rather than the original.

⁴ Margaret Morris's sister Sarah (1738-9-1826), who married George Dillwyn in 1759. He died 1820.

not forsake me now. While I cherished this hope my tranquillity was restored, and I felt no sensation but of humble acquiescence to the Divine will, and was favored to find my family in good health on my arrival, and my dear companion not greatly discomposed, for which favor I desire to be truly thankful.

Dec. 7. A letter from my next neighbor's husband, at the camp, warned her to be gone in haste, and many persons coming into town to-day, brought intelligence that the British army were advancing towards us.

Dec. 8. Every day begins and ends with the same accounts, and we hear to-day that the regulars are at Trenton. Some of our neighbors gone, and others going, makes our little bank ⁵ look lonesome. But our trust in Providence is still firm, and we dare not even talk of removing our family.

Dec. 9. This evening were favored with the company of our faithful friend and brother, R. W.⁶ This testimony of his love was truly acceptable to us.

Dec. 10. To-day our amiable friend E. C.⁷ and her family bade us adieu. My brother also left us, but returned in less than an hour, telling us he could not go away just as the Hessians were entering the town; but no troops coming in, we urged him to leave us next morning; which he concluded to do after preparing us to expect the Hessians in a few hours. A number of galleys have been lying in the river, before the town, for two days past.

Dec. 11. After various reports from one hour to another of light-horse approaching, the people in town had certain intelligence that a large body of Hessians were come to Bordentown, and we might expect to see them in a few hours. About 10 o'clock in the morning of this day, a party of about 600 men marched

⁵ Green Bank on the river Delaware.

⁶ Richard Wells (of England), who married Margaret Morris's next eldest sister, Rachel (1735-1796).

⁷ Esther (Hetty) Cox.

down the main street; as they passed along, they told our doctor⁸ and some other persons in the town, that a large number of Hessians were advancing, and would be in town in less than an hour. This party were riflemen, who, it seems, had crossed the river somewhere in the neighborhood of Bordentown to reconnoitre, and, meeting with a superior number of Hessians on the road, were then returning, and took Burlington in their way back. From us they crossed to Bristol, and by the time they were fairly embarked, the Hessians, to the number, as we heard, of 400 or 500, had passed what we call York bridge. On the first certainty of their approach, J. L.⁹ and two or three others thought best, for the safety of the town, to go out and meet the troops. He communicated his intention to one of the gondola captains, who approved of it, and desired to be informed of the result.

The gentlemen went out, and though the Hessian colonel spoke but little English, yet they found that, upon being thus met in a peaceable manner on behalf of the inhabitants, he was ready to promise them safety and security, to exchange any messages that might be proper with the gentlemen of the galleys. In the meantime he ordered his troops to halt; they remained in their ranks between the bridge and the corner of Main Street, waiting an answer from on board. J. L. and T. H.¹⁰ went down to report what had passed, and told Captain Moore that the colonel had orders to quarter his troops in Burlington that night, and that if the inhabitants were quiet and peaceable, and would furnish him with quarters and refreshment, he would pledge his honor that no manner of disorder should happen to disturb or alarm the people. Captain Moore replied that, in his opinion, it would be wrong in such a case to fire on the town, but that he would go down and consult with the commodore, and return an answer as soon as might be. While this answer was waited for,

⁸ Dr. Jonathan Odell. He was an Episcopal clergyman, and as such had taken the oath of allegiance to the crown. He was true to his oath, and so was reckoned as a Tory. Before he became a clergyman he had been a physician, and continued to practice to eke out his small salary.

⁹ John Lawrence.

¹⁰ John Lawrence and T. Hulings.

Dr. Odell was told it would be a satisfaction both to the Hessian commandant and to our own people, to have a person who could serve as interpreter between them. Not doubting the foreigner could speak French, the doctor went to him, and he had the satisfaction to find it probable, at least, that he might be of service to the people of the town. The commandant seemed highly pleased to find a person with whom he could converse with ease and precision.

He desired the doctor to tell the gentlemen of the town to the same purport as above, with this addition: that he expected there would be found no persons in the town in arms; nor any arms, ammunition, or effects, belonging to persons that were in arms against the king, concealed by any of the inhabitants; that if any such effects were thus secreted, the house in which they were found would be given up to pillage; to prevent which it would be necessary to give him a just and fair account of such effects, which account he would forward to the general, and that if we acted openly and in good faith in these respects, he repeated his assurances, upon the honor of a soldier, that he would be answerable for every kind of disorder on the part of his troops. They remained in profound silence in their ranks, and the commandant, with some of his officers, came into town as far as J. L.'s, where they dined, waiting the commodore's answer.

The doctor says that as he thought he observed much of the gentleman in the commandant, and the appearance, at least, of generosity and humanity, he took an opportunity to inform him that there was an old friend [of] his (the doctor's) who was a colonel, and of some estimation, in the continental army; that he was at present with General Washington, and that his lady, an amiable woman, had gone into the country with most of her effects; that the doctor was ignorant of the place of her retreat, but that before her departure she had begged him, on the footing of former friendship, to take into his house, and if he might be permitted to keep as under his protection, some few things which she could not remove, and told the commandant he was ready to give an exact account of such of her effects as he had thus taken charge of; and at the same time confessed that when he took

them, it was in the hope of being suffered to preserve them for his friend. The commandant told him without a moment's hesitation: "Sir, you need not be at the trouble of giving any further account of those things you have so candidly mentioned; be assured that whatever effects have been intrusted to you in this way I shall consider as your own, and they shall not be touched." From this answer, he was encouraged to hope he might be of still further service to his friends, and in the full persuasion that nothing would occur to disconcert the peaceable disposition that was making; but, as it happened, the commodore had received intelligence of a party of Hessians having entered Burlington before Captain Moore got down to him, and had ordered up four gallies to fire on the town wherever any two or three persons should be seen together. Captain Moore met and hailed them one after another, but the wind was so high that he was not heard or not understood. The four gondolas came up, and the first of them appearing before the main street J. L., T. H., and W. D.¹¹ went down upon the wharf and waved a hat—the signal agreed on with Captain Moore for the boat to come ashore and give the commodore's answer in peace. To the astonishment of these gentlemen, all the answer they received was first a swivel shot. Not believing it possible this could be designedly done, they stood still, and J. L. again waved his hat, and was answered with an 18 pounder. Both these fires, as the gondola people have since told us, were made with as good aim as could be taken, as they took it for granted it was at Hessians they fired. However, as it was impossible to conjecture that such conduct could have happened, or to suspect such a mistake, 'tis no wonder the town was exceedingly alarmed; looking upon it in the light of a cruel as well as unprovoked piece of treachery. Upon this news, the commandant rose calmly from table, and his officers with him went out to eight or ten men, who had come to the door as a small body-guard. He turned to the doctor, as he went into the street, and said he could easily dispose of his people out of the possibility of danger, but that much mischief might be done to the town, and

¹¹ William Dillwyn, who married a sister of John Smith, of Burlington.

that he would take a view of the gondolas, and see what measures might be necessary on his part; but that he should be sorry to be the occasion of any damage or distress to the inhabitants. He walked down the street, and sent different ways three sentinels in Indian file together, to view and report to him what they saw.

These being now and then seen at different times, induced the people on board to believe that the houses were full of Hessians, and a cannonade was continued till almost dark, in different directions, sometimes along the street, sometimes across it. Several houses were struck, and a little damaged, but not one living creature, either man or beast, killed or wounded. About dark the gondolas fell down a little way below the town, and the night was passed in quiet.

While all this tumult was in town, we, on our peaceful bank, ignorant of the occasion of the firing, were wondering what it could mean, and unsuspecting of danger, were quietly pursuing our business in the family, when a kind neighbor informed us of the occasion, and urged us to go into the cellar as a place of safety. We were prevailed on by him to do so, and remained there till it ceased.

Dec. 12. The people of the gallies, suspecting that some troops were yet either concealed in the town, or neighborhood of it, have been very jealous of the inhabitants, who have often been alarmed with reports that the city¹² would be set on fire; many have gone in haste and great distress into the country, but we still hope no mischief is seriously intended. A number of men landed on our bank this morning, and told us it was their settled purpose to set fire to the town. I begged them not to set my house afire: they asked which was my house, and they said they knew not what hindered them from firing on it last night, for seeing a light in the chambers they thought there were Hessians in it, and they pointed their guns at it several times. I told them my children were sick, which obliged me to burn a light all night. Though they did not know what hindered them from firing on us, I did; it

¹² "City" here may mean Philadelphia; Burlington is always spoken of as the "town."

was the guardian of the widow and the orphan, who took us into his safe-keeping, and preserved us from danger; oh that I may keep humble and be thankful for this as other favors vouchsafed to my little flock.¹³

Dec. 13. This day we began to look a little like ourselves again. The troops were removed some miles from town, as we heard, and our friends began to venture out to see us; but the suspicions of the gondola men still continued, and search was made in and about the town for men distinguished by the name of Tories. About noon of this day, my dear R. W. popped in upon us; he had heard the firing yesterday, and being anxious for our safety, he run the risk of venturing amongst us to see how we had fared; surely this proof of his love will never be forgotten by me while my memory lasts; he left us after dinner.

¹³ In "Letters of the Hill Family," there is the following letter of Margaret Morris to her youngest sister (page 402), Milcah Martha Moore, which may well be given here, as it was written at the same time.

Burlington, Dec. 12, 1776.

Although I have but a few moments to write, I have sat down to tell my beloved sister how it fares with us. We are, to our own amazement, still favored with calmness, while all around is confusion and terror; what cause of humble gratitude to the preserver of men, for it is a favor unexpected by us.

We went to bed last night without fear, trusting in the arm that has hitherto shielded us, although the gondolas lay just before our door, and the report of an intention to fire the town in the night had reached us about 9 o'clock, and our good uncle W. sent down and begged us to come with the whole family up there; and in turning it in my own mind, I got a little unsettled; but when I had concluded to stay where Providence had placed me, and trust in him alone, my mind received the answer of peace; and in that peace I went to sleep, and awoke in the same. Oh! may I be truly thankful.

This morning a galley, with a great many men, and a number of boats, came ashore at our wharf. I ordered the children to keep within doors, and went myself down to the shore, and asked what they were going to do. They said to fire the town if the Regulars entered. I told them I hoped they would not set fire to my house. "Which is your house and who are you?" I told them I was a widow, with only children in the house, and they called to others and bid them mark that house, there was a widow

Dec. 13.¹⁴ This day we began to feel a little like ourselves again; there was no appearance of the formidable Hessians. Several [of our friends] called to see us; amongst the number was one [Dr. Odell], esteemed by the whole family, and very intimate in it; but the spirit of the devil still continued to rove through the town the shape of Tory-hunters. A message was delivered to our intimate friend, informing him a party of armed men were on the search for him; his horse was brought, and he retired to a place of safety. Some of the gentlemen who entertained the foreigners, were pointed out to the gondola men; two worthy inhabitants¹⁵ were seized upon and dragged on board.

From the 13th to the 16th, we had various reports of the advancing and retiring of the enemy; parties of armed men rudely entered the houses in town, and diligent search was made for Tories; the two last taken released and sent on shore, some of the gondola gentry broke into and pillaged Rd. Smith's house on the bank. (Mem^o. To give a more particular account of the

and children, and no men in it; "but," said they, "It is a mercy we had not fired on it last night; seeing a light there, we several times pointed the guns at it; thinking there were Hessians or Tories in it; but a hair of your head shall not be hurt by us." See how Providence looks on us. Then they offered to move my valuable goods over the river, but I pointed to the children at the door, and said; "see, there is all my treasure, those children are mine," and one who seemed of consequence, said: "Good woman, make yourself easy, we will protect you."

Now, though I place no confidence in the arm of flesh, yet I have abundant cause for humble gratitude, that those hardy men did not treat me roughly. I can write no more—my letter is called for. May God in whom we trust, preserve you and us.

Anna has been confined to the bed all day yesterday, and Willy [Gulielma Maria Morris, afterwards Smith] has returns of her fever. When the firing became heavy yesterday, we went into the cellar, having heard it was safer than above stairs, and poor Anna was so terrified that she threw her clothes on her and went down stairs, and seeing no one in the house, thought we had fled; and to-day, though she cannot hold up her head, she will be down. Adieu, my dear sister; we join in love to all.

I am ever thine M. M.

¹⁴ This is an error in the MS., it should be Dec. 14.

¹⁵ One of these was Richard Smith.

manner by and by.) About noon this day [16th] a very terrible account of thousands coming into town, and now actually to be seen on Gallows Hill; my incautious son ¹⁶ caught up the spy-glass, and was running toward the mill to look at them. I told him it would be liable to misconstruction, but he prevailed on me to allow him to gratify his curiosity; he went but returned much dissatisfied, for no troops could he see; as he came back, poor Dick ¹⁷ took the glass, and resting it against a tree, took a view of the fleet; both of these were observed by the people on board, who suspected it was an enemy that was watching their motions. They manned a boat and sent her on shore; a loud knocking at my door brought me to it; I was a little fluttered, and kept locking and unlocking that I might get my ruffled face a little composed; at last I opened it, and half a dozen men all armed, demanded the key of the empty house. I asked them what they wanted there; they said to search for a d—d Tory who had been spying at them from the mill. The name of a Tory, so near *my own door*, seriously alarmed me, for a poor *refugee*, dignified by that name, had claimed the shelter of my roof, and was at that very time concealed, like a thief, in an auger-hole; ¹⁸ I rung the bell violently, the signal agreed on if they came to search, and when I thought he had crept into the hole, I put on a very simple look, and cried out, "Bless me, I hope you are not Hessians." "Do we look like Hessians?" asked one of them rudely. "Indeed, I don't know." "Did you ever see a Hessian?" "No,

¹⁶ John Morris.

¹⁷ Her son, Richard Hill Morris.

¹⁸ The "poor refugee" was Dr. Jonathan Odell. "In an auger-hole." The auger-hole was a secret chamber, entered from a room at the end of a long entry, through a closet, whose shelves had to be removed and the back pried open with a knife. Admission was then given into a chamber having no light save what crept through the chinks in roof and walls. The bell was hung in the room outside near the closet, communicating, by means of wires through the winding hall, with a knob just inside the front door. This bell, therefore, might be rung 'violently' before opening the door, without alarming outsiders, giving the 'refugee' time to conceal himself before the long entry could be traversed. Jonathan Odell finally escaped to England, where he remained a number of years before he dared return to his family." A. M. Gummere, *Pennsylvania Magazine*, 8, 164.

never in my life, but they are *men*, and you are men, and may be Hessians, for anything I know; but I'll go with you into Col. Cox's house, though indeed it was my son at the mill; he is but a boy, and meant no harm; he wanted to see the troops."

So I marched at the head of them, opened the door, and searched every place, but we could find no Tory; strange where he could be. We returned—they greatly disappointed—I, pleased to think my house was not suspected. The captain, a smart little fellow, named Shippen, said he wished he could see the spy-glass. S. D.¹⁹ produced it, and very civilly desired his acceptance of it, which I was sorry for, as I often amused myself in looking through it. They left us and searched J. V.'s ¹⁹ and the two next houses, but no Tory could they find. This transaction reached the town, and Colonel Cox was very angry, and ordered the men on board. In the evening I went to town with my refugee, and placed him in other lodgings. I was told to-day of a design to seize upon a young man in town, as he was deemed a Tory. I thought a hint would be kindly received, and as I came back, called upon a friend of his, and told him. Next day he was out of reach of the gondolas.

Dec. 17. More news! great news! very great news (J. V.'s). The British troops actually at Mount Holly! ²⁰ guards of militia placed at London and York bridges; gondola men in arms patrolling the streets; and diligent search making for firearms, ammunition and Tories; another attempt last night to enter into R. Smith's house. Early this morning J. V. sent in [to] beg I would let my son go a few miles out of town on some business for him. I consented, not knowing of the formidable doings up town; when I heard of it I felt a mother's pangs for her son all the day; but when night came, and he did not appear, I made no doubt of his being taken by the Hessians. A friend made my mind easy, by telling me he had passed through the town where the dreadful Hessians were said to be "playing the very mischief" (J. V. again); it is certain there were numbers of them

¹⁹ Sarah Dillwyn; J. V., James Verree.

²⁰ Mt. Holly is distant about seven miles from Burlington.

at Mount Holly, but [they] behaved very civilly to the people, excepting only a few persons, who were actually in rebellion, as they termed it, whose goods, etc., they injured. This evening every gondola man sent on board, with strict orders not to set a foot on the Jersey shore again. So far so good.

Dec. 18. This morning gives us hope of a quiet day; but my mind still anxious for my son, not yet returned. Our refugee gone off to-day out of the reach of gondolas and Tory hunters—much talk of the enemy; two Hessians had the assurance to appear in town to-day; they asked if there were any rebels in town, and desired to be shown the *men of war*; what a burlesque on *men of war*! My son returned to-night, and to his mortification saw not one Hessian, light-horse, or anything else worth seeing, but had the consolation of a little adventure at York Bridge, being made to give an account of himself as he went out yesterday, his horse detained, and he ordered to walk back to town and get a pass from General Reed; this he readily agreed to, but instead of a pass, Colonel Cox accompanied him back to the bridge, and Don Quixote, Jr., mounted his horse, and rode through their ranks in triumph. Two field-pieces said to be mounted at Bristol.

(To be continued.)

A SEVENTEENTH CENTURY REQUEST FOR A MEETING.

The following document is from the George S. Gibson collection of Quakeriana, and was copied by permission, many years ago, from the original, which is most carefully written, with heading adorned with many flourishes.¹

As no meetings of the names given exist to-day, the resuscitation asked for, if granted, was not lasting. South Mimms is about fifteen miles north of London on the road to St. Albans

¹ As the Gibson collection was acquired by the Friends' Reference Library, Devonshire House, London, the original document doubtless will be found there.

from which it is distant about five miles. Endfield or more usually Enfield, is now considered a suburb of London. It is about eight miles southeast of South Mimms. The Enfield rifle, long a well-known weapon, was manufactured near by. The literary associations of Enfield are interesting. Charles Lamb resided there from 1827 to 1833, and the poet Keats, and the novelist Captain Marryat were educated there.

But this district has special interest for students of Quaker history, particularly of George Fox. "In this locality George Fox found not only his peaceful retreats, but also one of his most successful fields of service." "Many of his richest and most influential adherents had their country residences in the district, . . . and hither would he often come, especially in his later years, to escape from incessant labor and recruit his exhausted frame in rural homes that were always ready to receive him."² It was at Waltham Abbey in 1654, Fox tells us, that he held a meeting, "but the people were very rude, and gathered about the house and broke the windows, whereupon I went out to them, with the Bible in my hand, and desired them to come in, and told them I would show them Scripture both for our principles and practices."³ . . . It was at Waltham that Fox, thirteen years later, "advised the setting up a school there for teaching boys . . . for instructing them in whatsoever things were civil and useful in the creation."⁴

It was at Enfield (or Endfield) that Fox spent the winter of 1667 at the house of Elizabeth Dry; and that "all that winter" (of 1670-1671) he "lay . . . warring in spirit with the evil spirits of the world that warred against truth and friends."⁵ Many incidents in early Quaker history are clustered in this region north of London. Of Waltham, Epping, South Mimms, Chipping Barnet, Winchmore Hill, Enfield, Flamstead End, and Totten-

² Beck and Ball, *London Friends' Meetings*, p. 295.

³ *Journal*, Bicent. ed., 1, 213.

⁴ *Journal*, Bicent. ed., 2, 89.

⁵ *Journal*, Bicent. ed., 2, 132, 135; Brayshaw, *Personality of George Fox*, 23, 42, 65, etc.

ham meetings, only Epping, Winchmore Hill and Tottenham remain, the two latter being part of Tottenham Monthly Meeting, and the former belonging to Ratcliff and Barking. The total membership of the three meetings being (1918) 227.

To the Monthly Meeting at Endfield.

Dear Friends South Mims

This is to acquaint you, it being a desire of severall Friends in these parts, to have a first day Meeting In the Parish of South Mims on y^e same day that Minsmerhill^e meeting is established amongst us. And that not without substantial Reasons for the Same. First, because there is a considerable party of Friends which are not able to visit any meeting on that day, As being so far distant. Secondly, neither can we justly blame them for their neglect, upon consideration of y^e distance they are y^t day from any of our Assemblies; which if our request might be Answered, It is our generall opinion would very much conduce to y^e credit, & honour of y^e Truth we profess; which thing we ought to have respect unto. Thirdly, there hath been some Antient and Elderly Friends with others, y^t have visited y^e meetings so far; as have proved detrimental to them as to their health, as some have been sick & out of order afterwards, and others have almost fainted at their entrance, so y^t y^e meeting hath not been so profitable to them, as otherwise it might have been. And other wholsom reasons as might be instanced; However to be short in y^e matter, we desire you would take things into good consideration; And assist us in our former Priviledge which we once before enjoyed.

So hoping you will be for y^e furtherance and Propagation of so good a design, which is by us intended; And at y^e request of severall is now presented to the consideration of this Meeting and Assembly. So this with y^e subscription of our names, And with consent of severall others; whose names are not here inserted have thought fitt to present you with all:

THOMAS LEGG
and fourteen others.

MARY LEGG

^e Minsmerhill has not been identified by the editor.

SELLING RUM TO THE INDIANS IN 1687.¹

At a Quarterly Meeting at Amboy the 31 of the 5 month
1688

The following paper was there read.

From Our Yearly Meeting held at Philadelphia the 7th: of y^e
7th moth 1687 [O. S.; Ninth month, New Style].—To the Quar-
terly Meeting held in the Province of East Jersey.

It being recommended to us from y^e Quarterly Meeting of Phila-
delphia y^e great evill and bad effects that has appeared by selling
y^e Indians Rum or other strong liquors and a paper being by
them p'sented w^{ch} was read amongst us relateing thereto, w^{ch}
upon due consideration was approved of & in concurrence there-
with wee give forth this following Testimony, being deeply sen-
sible & heartily grieved wth y^e abuses of this nature, that is too
frequent up & down amongst us, especially in that some that goes
under y^e profession of Truth (whom it was expected should have
been better Examples) we feare is not wholly clear of it, & There-
fore we give forth this as our sence That y^e practice of selling
Rum or other strong Liquors to the Indians directly or indirectly,
or exchanging Rum or other strong Liquors for any Goods or
Merchandize wth them considering the abuse they make of it, is a
thing contrary to y^e mind of y^e Lord & great grief & burthen to
his People & a great reflection & dishonour to y^e Truth, so far as
any professing it are concern'd. And for y^e more effectual
p'venting this evill practice, We advise as aforesaid, That this our
Testimony may be entered in every Monthly meeting book & every
friend belonging to their Monthly meeting to subscribe the same

Signed at and in behalf of the Meeting By

ANTHONY MORRIS.

¹ From the *Historical Magazine*, New York, April, 1870.

A JOURNEY BY CARRIAGE FROM NEWPORT, RHODE ISLAND, TO SMITHFIELD, OHIO, 1811.—II.

BY ROWSE TAYLOR.

7th.—We started early crossed the Juniata River to Dennisons, where we obtained a good breakfast, and moved on—met Joseph Allen and Thomas Wilson on their return; this was an agreeable interview having so long seen none but unknown faces;—parting with them we rode on to Bedford, a very considerable village—found at Dillon very good accommodations, which at this time were thrice welcome, Cousin Mary being much fatigued, and undisposed—the country between Bedford and the Allegany, is called Dry Ridge, but why it is called Ridge I know not, for I think we ascended 8 or 10 Ridges—8th we concluded to travel only 12 Miles to a good house on Dry-ridge—we therefore drove on slowly; coming to a flour mill, and having spare time, curiosity led us into that—here we purchased a bushel of Rye Meal for 60 cents, but it proved to be a very dear purchase—for 2 or 3 days after we left Rhode Island, we fed our horses with Meal, and water, but were often puzzled to get Indian Meal, and we soon found that it did not agree with the Sorrel-horse; we therefore changed from Meal to Oats, and made it a uniform practice, to give them as much hay as they would eat all night, and as many oats as they would eat all day; this kept them as strong as Lions: tho' in changing to chopped rye we were guarded, yet not enough so; when we reached Flemings, he had no hay, but a good Clover field, into which he turn'd them; in the evening we fed them with oats, and turned them out again; but when we took them up in the morning (9th) they were lame in every foot, foundered as I suppose by eating too much of the Rye Meal; we bled them in the mouth, and concluded to travel to the foot of the Allegany (12 miles) hoping that moderate exercise would be useful to them; we fed them often, giving them but little at a time; when they were warm, they seemed to be rather better, but after standing a few minutes grew lamer again: we were now in a sad plight—Cousin Mary's health was rather low; I had long been obliged to live on wheat bread, which does not suit my constitution, and had

taken cold the night before, felt through the day, the increasing symptoms of an approaching Billious Fever—however we rode 12 Miles—on arriving at Impress, the horses first claimed our attention; we could get no medicine for them there, but we had furnished ourselves previously with a large quantity of cream of Tartar, Magnesia and rhubarb, with which we fed them very liberally mixing it with chopped Rye and oats) we also gave them a little fresh clover—by this time it began to rain very fast, I was extremely fatigued, and obliged to resign the future care of the horses to Samuel, and the care of myself to Cousin Mary—I took a large dose with the horses; but a pretty high state of perspiration, seemed to be the only means of relief—pass'd a very distressed night; continued in bed, and kept up the perspiration, untill late in the afternoon—the following night rested tolerably, and on the morning of the 11th found myself comfortable, but very weak—Mary's health had rather improved, notwithstanding her indefatigable attention to me—the horses seem'd to be cured of their lameness, or nearly so, but had not yet recovered their strength; and the roads, in many places, were much injured by the late heavy rain—our situation, loudly called for more rest; yet I imprudently, may I not say *rashly* ventured forward, and as before took care of the horses, whether riding or leading, having concluded that if any accident happened, no one should be blamed but myself;—we ascended the Allegany, which is called the backbone of the United States, the road up the mountain was good; and the ascent trifling to people in health; but not so to us—when we reached the top, we found a spacious house, but a woful cross landlady; cousin Mary made me a little milk porridge, and we journey'd on to Somerset, a decent little village—here as usual I drove my coach, up to the door, and like a man of consequence, called for the landlord, he ran out of the house, but instead of coming forward to speak to the driver, he went to the door of the carriage to look for the Master; the man, on discovering his mistake, seem'd a little discomposed, and I, a little diverted—12th. As we approach'd Laurel-Hill, we saw the waggoner, who detained us, on the Cove Mountain; my wife inquired of him, if we had not pass'd the worst part of the road, he replied “ No madam,

you are just coming to the Lilly [?] of it—in truth we found it the most difficult place in the whole journey; it is said that no woman ever crossed it without shedding tears; not so, *One did*. In the afternoon we travelled with a friend by the name of John Field, who with his children, and aged Mother were moving to Ohio—with them was Rachel Warrington, who had been on a visit to her friends in New Jersey; she was the daughter of our well-known friend Joshua Evans; and appeared to be a woman of firmness, and capacity; their company was very agreeable to us, and we scrambled up the hill together—towards night they went a little before us, and with another family put up at Thompsons, on, or near the summit of the hill; movers, who carry their provisions are, in general most unwelcome guests; two family's there, and a third coming, worked up the landlord to a considerable pitch, before we got there; we inquired for house-keeping, lodging, etc. he said he would not engage his beds to movers, he did not know but that travellers on horseback would come, and want them; if they did not, we might have them; I felt not a little irritated, and inquired how long we must set up, to wait for travellers; my wife desired to know, if we went to bed, and travellers came, whether he would expect us to get up, and give them the beds; after much altercation, and invitation, he said we should have the beds; a number of persons had previously called for lodging; when bedtime came, and they were provided for, he had 3 beds left; if we took them our friends (above mentioned) would have none; he in a surly manner told us to divide them as we pleased, which we did, and that night slept *thicker* than *three* in a bed—our friends rose early, and pursued their journey,—we lay late to rest if possible—but in the morning we found the landlord at least 5 per cent better, than in the evening—they prepared us a breakfast, and waited upon us attentively—13th left Thompson's, intending to reach a little village called Mount pleasant, but were obliged to put up, about 3 Miles short of it—soon after we entered the house, an old vagabond came in with a show, who with a few lads, and perhaps a few neighbours, kept up a very great noise untill long after midnight; this very much disturbed my wife for even the sound of a cowbell, the barking of a dog, or the gab-

ling of a goose, would many times break her rest; but I never faild of sleeping, except the one night mentioned—14th Reached Yohogany River [Youghioghenny]—15th Cross'd the Yohogany and Monongahela Rivers, the former we forded, the latter we cross'd in a Flat—16th In the morning found ourselves 21½ Miles from Isaac Manchester's, which we expected to reach before night; but a heavy thunder shower overtook us in the afternoon, the ground being a remarkable slippery clay, and the road hilly, it became very difficult travelling, and night overtook us, before we got there; our directions for finding the house being imperfect we took one horse from the Carriage, which Samuel mounted, and took the Cart road which we supposed led to it; he soon returned, and cousin Isaac with him, bringing a lantern, he led us to his house, where we found Cousin Phebe, who appeared perfectly natural; they treated us with great kindness, and generosity; and we were very happy to find ourselves once more in the house of our friends, this was first day evening—I had not fully recover'd from my Allegany sweat, found my left side very weak, and was sorely affected with my old complaint, the *Spleen*—Cousin Isaac expressing a willingness to accompany me over the River, I staid there untill 5th Day, partly on account of my health, and partly waiting for him to complete some business, he had on hand—we then went down to Wheeling, to Michael Graham's; he and his wife treated us liberally; and the next day he accompanied us over the Ohio River, about 5 Miles to Concord; the first house we entered there, was Samuel Potts, a smart little Englishman, somewhat resembling Uncle Hosier; he had an agreeable wife, and a fine family of Children: he showed us a farm he had for sale, owned by a friend of his. We then went to Wm. Millhouse's and lodged—Wm Millhouse much resembles in language, and manners our late friend John Nadurn; he has a fine daughter (at home) named Jane; sister to Isaac Bonsels wife—here I took the liberty of using Elizabeth Coggeshall's and Mary Morton's names, which I never used in vain—Horton Howard came to see us in the evening, gave us considerable information respecting the country, especially the Miama [Miami], which he had lately visited. I do not who to compare Horton to; he is 42 or 43

years old; his voice rather thin; his stature below the middle size; has a strong, comprehensive, improved mind; a generous heart, and agreeable manners, especially at home; he was raised in South Carolina, near the Sea; has been a tailor if I mistake not—is a public friend [Minister] in esteem—Samuel Potts and Wm Millhouse are from near Philadelphia—the next morning we went a few miles northward, to see a village called Mount Pleasant where friends have a good brick School-House—the School is taught by Rebecca Taylor, daughter of our friend Jonathan Taylor, who was then from home, on a religious visit; she appeared to be an amiable, accomplished girl—have since become acquainted with her—we dined with a friend by the name of Enoch Harris; meeting with Horton Howard, we returned to Concord—went to see a neighbour of his, who had a farm for sale—then went to Horton's where we staid 3 Nights—found his wife an agreeable woman: the next day being first day, we attended their Meeting—Horton shewed us his fine Merino sheep; he had 3 full-blooded (beside one he had left at Redstone) and a number of half blooded—the Merino's are in credit here—On second day we spent the time in trying to agree for a farm, but fail'd, and return'd to Horton's where we saw two friends from the Miamia [Miami]; one of them in particular, thought the country healthy; but he moved from Georgia; from all that I can gather, I am apprehensive that the climate of the southern parts of the State, will not suit New-England people: On third day went 12 or 14 Miles north-ward to a little village called Smithfield; here we staid the first night with William Wood, a public friend, he is *the Wm Rotch of Smithfield*:—his oldest daughter is Clerk of the Mo. Meeting; a sensible improved young woman—I have proposed to his oldest single Son, to make a visit to Newport, and get him a wife; I mention this that our Newport young women may see that I am *still* willing to do something for them—but am apprehensive that the proposition came *too late*—The next night we said with an honest friend named James Carr, these two friends, rode round the neighborhood, and shewed us different places, that were for sale—at length we return'd to Hopewell, after a ramble of 8 days all this time Cousin Isaac, was as patient as Job; he is indeed a

very good judge of land, but like the Newport Man, who could find no place in Connecticut that suited him, except Governor Trumbulls, which he could not get; so I found none, but such as were either too high for my money, or too low for my pride; however, after ruminating on the different prospects, that had presented themselves to my view, Cousin Isaac accompanied me a few miles to see a place, we had seen near Smithfield; on getting the terms I cross'd the River again, and in company, with one, or other, of the two friends (mentioned above) review'd that, and several other places; and finding that we differed in judgment, respecting that, I return'd, and cousin Isaac giving his opinion in favour of purchasing, I finally agreed for the place—It is about

¹ Miles from the Meeting house in Smithfield, where Plymouth Monthly Meeting is held; and as level as road, as from Newport to Portsmouth, and 5 or 6 Miles in a line from the Ohio River, but no waggon road direct to the River—it lies in the Township of Warren, County of Jefferson; more than 40 Miles below Pittsburgh—15 or 16 Miles above Wheeling, and 100 from Marietta, but with respect to these distances I do not pretend to be accurate—from the River opposite Charlestown round through Smithfield is 13½ miles, and a good road; but not more than 7 to Warrentown [Warrenton] on the River—I agreed to fifteen hundred and fifty dollars in seven payments the first \$900, the second and third, each 100, the fourth 200, and the fifth, and sixth each 100 and the seventh \$50—the first payment at the execution of the deed, the others, yearly from the time the bargain was made—viz 7th mo 7th the farm contains 160 Acres—40 or 50 called clear land; but on the part called cleared, there is wood enough to make Newport smile, in a cold day; the buildings are worth little, or nothing; the fences poor; and the place most wretchedly out of order—dont I hear you say? “Rowse has more courage, than good conduct—” the eastern parts of the state is generally very hilly but as we retire from the River, the Country becomes more level—the land I have purchased is not so uneven as most places near the River—I have the liberty of erecting a Cabin, moving on the place, when I please, sowing, etc., etc., but the Tennant con-

¹ This blank is unfilled in the manuscript.

tinues in the old Cabin 'till spring: the place is pretty well watered, and well timbered, with white, and black oak, whited red hickory, white and black walnut, Beach, Sugar Maple etc., etc.—the Butternut is here called white walnut; and buttonwood, Sycamore—we have not stones for wall—timber will soon be valuable, notwithstanding the abundance of Coal in this Country—have not yet discovered any coal on my place—but on the plantations adjoining, it is plenty; I have Limestone in common with my neighbours. All this time we stayed at cousin Isaacs, anxiously looking for our goods, but they come not—I wrote to John Morton, but received no answer—I had engaged 2 or 3 Rooms at Smithfield, and our kind friends Wm Wood and wife offer'd to lend us such things as we should need, untill better provided for. On the 10th of 7th month, we left Cousin Isaac's (where notwithstanding our very long stay, we were treated with the kindness of Bretheren, and the generosity of princes) and cross'd the Ohio River, but a heavy thunder shower overtook us, and the evening being extremely dark, we were obliged to stop 2 or 3 Miles before we reached Smithfield—next morning started early, got there by breakfast time; spent that day with our friends, Wm. and Mary Wood, and the day following commenced house-keeping. We were now in rather an awkward situation; we had to be sure the *grandest carriage* in the Country—but were obliged to borrow chairs to sit in, and beds to lay on this put *even* cousin Mary's *humility* to the Test; I felt for some time, as if my legs were tied; should every day find ourselves in want of something that was indispensable; I must then for *some time* inquire where such things could be had; and spend *more* in riding after it; but this was not *all*; *parting* with *two* dollars, always hurt me more than *receiving ten*—I spent a great deal of time, in arranging affairs with the Tennant, who appeared to be disposed to make the best of circumstances, favorable to his interest; he had by his lease the right of sowing, one half of the cleared land; this right I wished to purchase, that I might be rid of him, in the spring, as he appeared to be a very indifferent farmer—finally, I gave him 4 fifths of the rent to obtain the privileges above mention'd—after we had been in Smithfield about 4 Weeks, Cousin Isaac came, and informed us, that our goods were at Washington [Washingtonville] about 35

Miles from us—I immediately took a Waggon, and went after them; he put his horse into the Waggon with mine, and one I hired and went with me—we found the goods in tolerable order, but received no letter—paid 52 dollars for conveying them from Philadelphia (if we had sent some other articles, which we sold low, it would have been to our advantage) it being a very rainy afternoon, we staid at a public house on the road—the next morning we got extremely wet before we got to Cousin Isaac's—the day following he lent me a horse to go home—but for *all* his *patience faild* not—I had not yet received my deed, as the man, I bought of had none—I spent one day in going to Steubenville to examine the records—then again went over the River, and by cross occurrences, spent 2 days in getting the deed staid untill second day—then went to Warrington to get a certificate from the Clerk of the Court; and returned to Smithfield—it was then near the middle of the 8th month—I had previously concluded to engage a very rough piece of land, that had been partially cleared some years ago; the bushes, and vines we dug up with out mattocks, the standing timbers, we first cut down, then by laying one log across another, burnt them into pieces, of a proper length; which with the assistance of our horses, we got into heaps and burnt—the clearing of this field, proved to be a Herculean Task—I hired many days work—yet week stole upon week, until more than 3 months had elapsed; but we had at last the satisfaction of seeing our work completed—we sowed 1 Bushel of Rye, 1 of Barley, and 7 of Wheat—we are now engaged in erecting a Cabin—The Carriage I sold \$137½ and took it all out of the purchasers store, which I have been able to turn to tolerable advantage; tho not equal to the money—bought a new waggon, but was not able, untill very lately, to get the right kind of Iron to shoe the wheels—thus my friends may see that I have not been altogether idle—Before I close this long and incoherent scrawl, it seems incumbent on me to acknowledge; and that too under a deep sense of my unworthiness; that since we left Newport, the Hand of Divine Mercy has been often conspicuously displayed before me; that we have not only experienced the *Rod*, but the *Staff* of our gracious Master; and may say *hitherto* the *Lord hath helped us*—

12th mo 2 1811. After getting the Deed of my place I determined to write my friends immediately, but as we had to go 2½ Miles to work, I was too much fatigued in the evening to write; on first day morning, it was with much ado that I could get shaved by meeting time—on first day afternoon, I generally paraded my pens, paper, inkstand etc.—sometimes before, and often by the time, I had written a line, some kind friend would come in to see the strangers; and then my writing apparatus must all be thrown aside—sometimes we must go abroad at all hazards, at another, nothing would satisfy a kind friend, but for us to go and *eat peaches*—It then came a rainy day, I had a waggon, harness, bridles, etc., etc. to make—thus I was driven along, untill the present day, after dinner, seized Time by the forelock, and have been driving the quill all the afternoon, tho' I have had 3 or 4 interruptions this evening—we received two letters faithfully filled from Stephen Gould, which were as grateful to us, as the water brooks, to the hunted hart; shall endeavour to answer them soon: received one from Aunt Hosier, and Cousin Margaret, but the lines were much too far apart to please me; hope they will write closer next time; however we read it again and again; will endeavour to answer it soon—So wide is the circle of my friends, and so strong my attachment to them, that I know not how to mention individuals; but may say that my love to my friends is most *ardent*; and my *pity* for *poor school-masters* most *sincere* - - - I have directed this to the care of Uncle Richard as a small token of the gratitude, I owe him for his uniform, and indefatigable attention to my interest, from early life—Cousin Mary's health as usual—her ancle is not troublesome—Adieu.

ROWSE TAYLOR.

Let all my Letters be directed to Charleston on the Ohio River—Brooke County—State of Virginia—

THE END.

Itinerary for last part of the journey. Dennisons (?), Pa., Bedford, Impress(?), *Alleghany Mountains*, Somerset, Thompson's (?), Mount Pleasant, Pa.; *Youghiogheny River*, *Monongahela River*, Wheeling, W. Va.; *Ohio River*, Concord, Ohio; Mount Pleasant, Ohio; Smithfield, Hopewell (?), Smithfield.

QUAKER BOOKS AND QUAKERIANA IN THE LIBRARY OF HAVERFORD COLLEGE.¹

The collection of Quaker books and Quakeriana in the Library of Haverford College, Pennsylvania, is, so far as known, the largest and best in America, and is the most useful for the historical or theological student. No other American collection possesses such long lines of Quaker periodicals, both American and British. Of the most important of these there are complete sets. There are also practically complete series of the printed "Minutes" of the Orthodox Yearly Meetings, as well as a few in manuscript, and some of the "Hicksite" Yearly Meetings. There are also Minutes or papers of the "Conservative" Yearly Meetings, and of off-shoots from various Quaker bodies, as "Progressive Friends," Pennsylvania; "Green Plain Friends," Ohio; "Congregational" Friends, New York; the "White Quakers of Ireland," etc. The library's collection of pamphlet literature is very large, both bound and unbound.

The various controversies which have arisen within the Quaker body from the earliest days of the Society to the present, such as the "Wilkinson-Story" (time of George Fox); Hannah Barnard controversy (1798-1801); the "Hicksite" Separation of 1827-1828; the "Beaconite Controversy," 1836; the "Wilburite-Gurney" of a later date; "Anti-Slavery Friends," Indiana, 1842-1843, and others, are impartially and very fully represented.

The collection of Quaker tracts of the seventeenth century is probably unsurpassed in this country. The collection of the late William H. Jenks, of Philadelphia, alone, which was presented by his widow, consists of about 1,500 titles bound separately in full or half calf or morocco; through the generosity of a friend of the college a number of rarities from the library of the late Charles Roberts, of Philadelphia, were acquired, as well as many other titles. Altogether, more than 1,000 volumes, besides

¹ A considerable portion of this paper has appeared in the *Library Journal*, and is reprinted by permission.

many pamphlets, were secured at the Roberts sale in New York, 1918.

There is also a large collection of Anti-Quakeriana of all sorts and periods, including many volumes of Muggletonian literature. The aim has been to secure as far as possible whatever bears on the history, doctrines, and practices of the Friends, whether by Quakers or not, and whether for or against them.

In addition to printed books and pamphlets there is a considerable number of more or less valuable manuscripts. Among these are seven or eight autograph letters of William Penn, one of which, a letter to the Princess Elizabeth, Palatine, dated 1677, extends to sixteen pages.² The Gulielma M. Howland collection contains family letters and papers and other documents ranging from 1677 to about the middle of the nineteenth century, comprising in all several hundred pieces. Many of these are of much interest, among them the original manuscript diary (December, 1777-April, 1778) of Margaret (Hill) Morris, of Burlington, New Jersey, giving details of Revolutionary experiences. This diary heretofore has only been privately printed—50 copies in 1836, and again in "Letters of Dr. Richard Hill" (Philadelphia, 1854, pp. 211-237).³ There are also in the library several manuscript diaries of minor importance, and a manuscript volume of 212 pages containing copies of some of the papers and letters in the "Swarthmore Papers" at Devonshire House, London.

To indicate the completeness of the collection it may be noted that George Fox is represented by 230 titles; William Penn by 97; George Keith by 53; George Whitehead by 75; Richard Farnsworth by 48; John Lilburne by 23; Francis Bugg by 45; James Nayler by 63; there is a copy of every edition of George Fox's Journal, including the first impression of the first folio (1694) with the leaf afterward suppressed; and most of the editions of Barclay's celebrated "Apology," including the first Latin (1676) and two different impressions of the first English edition (1678); an edition printed 1729, at Newport, Rhode Island, by James

² This letter was printed in the BULLETIN, vol. iv, 82-97.

³ The first part appears in the present number of the BULLETIN.

Franklin, brother of Benjamin Franklin; both impressions of Baskerville's beautifully printed quarto edition, 1765. William Sewel is represented by his *History of the Quakers*, folio, English edition, 1722; Low-Dutch, 1717,⁴ German, 1744, by his "Guide to the Low-Dutch Language," editions of 1700, 1725 and 1760; his quarto, "English-Dutch, Dutch-English Dictionary," editions of 1691 (the first), and 1749 (fourth). These two issues have as a frontispiece a portrait of Sewel sitting in his library.⁵

There are more or less complete collections of the works of John Woolman, Anthony Benezet, Joseph John Gurney, and others. A complete set of the English "Annual Monitor," 1813-1918, one hundred and six numbers; a large collection of the "Disciplines" of the various Yearly Meetings, including all of the earliest period; nearly a complete set of the original folio London General Epistles and of the American reprints; and many of the Epistles issued by Philadelphia Yearly Meeting.

Among the rarities are Stephenson's "A Call from Death to Life," 1660; "New England's Ensign," 1659; "Plantation Work in America," by William Coddington, 1662; "Several Epistles Given Forth by Two of the Lord's Faithful Servants Whom He Sent to New England," etc., 1669; Bishop's "New England Judged," 1703; George Fox's "Battle Door," 1660; John Bellers' "Proposal for Running a Colledge of Industry," 1696; one of two manuscript copies of George Fox's "Short Journal," the original manuscript of which is in the Friends' Reference Library, Devonshire House, London, and which has never been printed or published.

There was acquired at the Roberts sale, 1918, a volume of Quaker Tracts of the years 1653, 1654, collected by Robert Barclay, the Apologist, with a list of contents in his own handwriting and his autograph. There is also a volume entitled, "*Reliquiæ Barclaiana*," consisting of lithographed copies of "Letters and Papers by, and relating to the Barclay Family," of which it is

⁴ This is the edition containing the hymn set to musical notes, but which is omitted in other editions.

⁵ These two portraits differ from each other.

said but 37 copies were issued; and the Poetical Works of John Scott, of Amwell (1795), containing four engravings by William Blake.

Among the manuscripts are three large folio volumes containing "Lives of the Ministers of the Gospel among the People called Quakers," collected from unpublished Memorials, printed sources, and personal knowledge, by John Smith (1722-1771),⁶ of Burlington, New Jersey. The number of names noticed is stated by the compiler to be "1287,—887 males, 400 females." These volumes, which are unique, were given to the library by Robert Pearsall Smith, an alumnus of the College, and a great-grandson of the compiler.

Other rarities which might be named are the following: "A Confession of Faith set forth by the Followers of George Keith, [printed by] William Bradford, 1693;" Sewel's "History of the Quakers," printed by S. Keimer, Philadelphia, 1728, folio. Of this volume Benjamin Franklin printed the Index and pages 533-694. It is the first known production of Franklin's press.⁷ Franklin speaks of this work in his Autobiography in the following manner:

"Breintnal particularly procur'd us from the Quakers the printing forty sheets of their history, the rest being to be done by Keimer; and upon this we work'd exceedingly hard, for the price was low. It was a folio, pro patria size, in pica, with long primer notes. I compos'd of it a sheet a day, and Meredith work'd it off at press; it was often eleven at night, and sometimes later, before I had finished my distribution for the next day's work, for the little jobbs sent in by other friends now and then put us back." (*Autobiography*, Bigelow's edition, Phila., 1872, pp. 173-176.)

A fine copy of Cicero's "Cato Major," translated by James Logan and printed by Benjamin Franklin, 1744.

⁶ John Smith married October 7, 1748, Hannah, daughter of James Logan, the secretary and friend of William Penn.

⁷ Hildeburn, No. 350, 1, 92; Curtis Collection of Franklin's Works, No. 1.

Among the Latin and German translations and originals is Barclay's "*Epistola Amatoria nec non Consultoria ad Legatos Magnatum Europae, Roterdami, 1678*;" this, concerning the peace of Christians, and the causes of the present war (1677), by Robert Barclay, a "lover of Christian peace," if translated, might be interesting reading at the present time. Other rarities are, a "Broadside," by "Georgius Fox, Britannus *unus eorum qui illusoriè* QUAKERE dicuntur," and dated AMSTELODANI 20 Octob. 1677, "*Epistola hortatoria LEGATIS Magnatum Christianisme, in praesentiarum Pacis componendae gratia Neomagi congressis*," supplementary to Barclay's address.⁸

A "Broadside," printed in Latin by Jacob Claus, Amsterdam, 1684, addressed to "Johanna Tertio Regi Poloniae, etc.," on behalf of the persecuted Quakers;⁹ also a number of Quaker tracts in German, printed in Amsterdam, ranging from 1675 to 1684, some of which have not been translated into English, and are not recorded by Smith in his Catalogue of Friends' Books.

Among the interesting objects are a plaster cast of Silvanus Bevan's ivory medallion bust of William Penn; an original oil portrait of John G. Whittier by Bass Otis (1837);¹⁰ also a fine copy of a small (2½ inch square) unpublished colored sketch of Whittier at the age of 23, painted by Elizabeth B. Brown, of Burlington, New Jersey.

Among the Anti-Quakeriana are many curious, and some scurrilous books and tracts. Among the books is the huge folio volume of 1,200 pages, "*Anabaptisticum et Enthusiasticum Pantheon und Geistliches Rust Hauss wider die Alten Quacker und Neuen Frey-Beister, etc. [von D. Scheider (?)] Im Jahr Christi 1702.*" This volume gives several hundred pages to an attack on the Quakers, singling out for special notice James Nay-

⁸ This Epistle in English will be found in Fox's Journal, Bicent. ed., 2: 298. "Neomagi is Nimwegen in the Netherlands," where the celebrated peace of 1678 was negotiated by the ambassadors whom Fox and Barclay addressed.

⁹ English translation. Fox, Journal, Bicent. ed., 2, 422.

¹⁰ An etching of this portrait forms the frontispiece to Volume I in the Library edition of Whittier's Poems, 1888.

ler and his fall. It has many curious cuts depicting the Quakers, and Nayler, in particular, and also the various heretics, their evil deeds and punishments. It is not recorded in Smith's Catalogue of "Anti-Quakeriana." Of those listed by Smith the library possesses about three hundred titles.

There are a number of "Association books," a volume from the library of Sir John Rodes,¹¹ the friend of William Penn, with Sir John's autograph; a volume with James Logan's book-plate and autograph, which afterwards was the property of Samuel Emlen (1730-1799); many volumes from the library of Stephen Grellet, several from that of Moses Brown and Isaac Norris, single volumes formerly belonging to William Meade, the son-in-law of Margaret Fell, and companion of William Penn in the great trial, Anthony Benezet, Lindley Murray, and others.

The whole collection numbers about 7,000 volumes.

ALLEN C. THOMAS.

GENERAL JACOB BROWN NOT "A FIGHTING QUAKER."

In a recent number of the BULLETIN (Vol. 8, 108-110) it was shown that the claim of Horace M. Lippincott, made on more than one occasion, that Generals Greene and Mifflin, of the American Revolution, and Jacob Brown, of the War of 1812, were "Fighting Quakers" was untenable as to the first two, as they were disowned for entering into military service; and improbable as to Jacob Brown.

After considerable personal research, and with some assistance, the complete record of Jacob Brown as a Quaker has been ascertained. He was originally a member of Falls Monthly Meeting, Bucks County, Pennsylvania. In the records of that meeting, under date of 3rd month 4th, 1795, is the following entry: "The Falls [Preparative Meeting] report that Jacob

¹¹ See "A Quaker Post Bag," 1910; Journal of Thomas Story, 1747, pp. 90, 465, 684.

Brown requests a Certificate to Chesterfield Monthly Meeting, New Jersey." Again: 4th month 8, 1795. "The friends appointed to prepare a certificate for Jacob Brown, produced one which was read, and with a small alteration, approved, and signed by the Clerk; his father is appointed to convey it to him." It might be noted that the young man was at this time twenty years of age.

A search of the records of Chesterfield Monthly Meeting, which was held at or near Crosswicks, New Jersey, not far from Trenton, reveals the following: "First month 2d, 1798, Chesterfield Preparative Meeting informs that Jacob Brown requests a certificate of Removal to Monthly Meeting of New York. Joshua Bunting and Jacob Middleton were appointed to make the necessary inquiry, and if nothing appears to obstruct, to prepare one for the approbation of next meeting." "Second month 6th, 1798. Jacob Brown had a certificate of removal granted to the Monthly Meeting of New York."

Thus far Jacob Brown was a member in good standing. Following a residence in New York City for a few months, he went, in 1799, to the extreme northeastern part of New York State, and started a successful settlement now known as Brownville. Here he was far from any Friends' Meeting.¹

Jacob Brown's name appears on the records of New York Monthly Meeting as having a certificate from Chesterfield Monthly Meeting, as above, but does not again appear until 3rd month 2, 1803, when New York Preparative Meeting "informs that Jacob Brown removed some time since to the northern part of this State, remote from any Meeting of Friends, with informa-

¹ It is interesting that in the Minutes of Falls Meeting the following Minute occurs: "11th month 3, 1802. Samuel Brown and family having some time past removed from us, and settled at Brownsville [sic] within about forty miles of Adolphus Town Monthly Meeting, Canada, and it being thought right they should be under the care of Friends living more contiguous," etc. "A committee was appointed to prepare a certificate of removal." This was granted 2d month 9, 1803, to Samuel Brown and Abi, his wife, and their five children, Samuel, Hannah, William, Abi, and Joseph.

tion that he has gone out in Marriage to one not in membership with us, and that he has also been engaged in endeavoring to promote a Lottery." ² The committee appointed to look into the matter received a reply to their letter, in which he admitted the two offences, and added that he acted as a commissioner to distribute the funds derived from the lottery. He was *disowned* 4th month 4, 1804.

This is conclusive that Jacob Brown was not a member at the time of the War of 1812, and this fact also coincides with information from one of his descendants that the family tradition is, that he was disowned for "marrying out." So Jacob Brown was *not* "A Fighting Quaker."

WILLIAM PENN'S "NO CROSS, NO CROWN."

It has been thought that possibly William Penn may have had the title of his celebrated book, "No Cross, No Crown," suggested to him by the following couplet from Francis Quarles's poem, "Hadassa, the History of Queene Ester" (1621):

"The way to bliss lies not on beds of down,
And he that has no cross, deserves no crown."

Quarles died in 1644, the year of Penn's birth, and his works were at their height of popularity when Penn was a young man.

² It should be remembered that at this period Friends were almost the only ones who objected to lotteries. Princeton College in 1763 raised funds by means of a lottery, and the Washington Monument in Baltimore, Maryland, was built with funds chiefly raised in this manner. Mary Russell Mitford tells us that on her tenth birthday (1797) her father took her to a lottery office and told her to choose a ticket out of those offered, and she chose one with the number 2224. There being some difficulty raised about this particular ticket, she was asked to choose another, but with childish pertinacity, insisted that that and that only would she choose. On being pressed to tell why, she replied that the figures on that ticket added up *ten*, and it was her tenth birthday. So the ticket was bought, and, strange to say, drew a prize of £20,000, which in a few years her spendthrift father ran through.

BOOKS OF INTEREST TO FRIENDS.

The Personality of George Fox. By A. Neave Brayshaw, B.A., LL.B. . . . With an introduction by Herbert G. Wood, M.A. . . . Published for the Friends' Historical Society by Headley Brothers, Ltd., London; Friends' Book and Tract Committee, 144 East Twentieth Street, New York, Grace W. Blair, Media, Pa., 8½ x 5½ in., pp. xii, 92. 1s. 50 cents postpaid.

This short treatise or monograph has been eagerly looked for by students of George Fox's life and character, and they will not be disappointed. It shows clearly that it is the fruit of extensive reading, careful weighing of evidence, and sympathetic yet remarkably impartial judgment. No thoughtful reader, or any student, will think, as the author seems to fear, that he has "overloaded" his volume with "references and notes." There is no need for any apology. The author says, wisely: "This work is intended to be a picture of the man George Fox, not a consecutive account of his life nor an exposition of his teaching."

A thoroughly satisfactory "Life" of Fox has yet to be written. The longest, that by Janney, is biased, and now antiquated; and others are unsatisfactory in many ways. Of the shorter accounts, that by the late Thomas Hodgkin, was written before much of great value and interest had come to light; while several excellent sketches make no claim to be a "Life."

In the monograph before us, though not a "Life," in the words of the "Introduction" by Herbert G. Wood, "We become acquainted with him [Fox] in his rugged vigor and homespun simplicity as we read some of those illuminating touches found in the original sources which of late years have been opened up." No one who wishes really to *know* Fox can afford to miss this volume.

Besides the "Introduction," there are "Abbreviations and Bibliography," a valuable "Chronological Table of Fox's Life;" Appendices on "Portraits of Fox;" "Remarkable Cures by Fox;" "George Fox's Spelling;" "Addenda;" and an "Index," which might have been somewhat fuller. Slight typographical errors or slips occur on p. 21, l. 4; p. 29, l. 11; p. 47, ll. 3-8.

The author is to be congratulated on producing a work indispensable to the student of Quaker history.

The Human Needs of Labor. By B. Seebohm Rowntree. . . . Thomas Nelson and Sons, Ltd., London, Edinburgh and New York [1918], 5 x 7½ in., pp. 168.

This small book is by one of the great authorities on Labor, Poverty, and Wages. He is not only a theorist, but a practical investigator,

and, as a member of the great cocoa firm of Rowntrees in York, England, a large employer of labor himself. Though in matters of detail the book is hardly suited to American conditions, the principles underlying the work, and its suggestions are well worthy the thoughtful consideration of all Americans interested in this most important matter. The American workman would hardly be satisfied with the minimum Dietary suggested, or what is considered would be the *minimum wage* "after the war," which is estimated at 44s. per week for men and 25s. for women. A distinction made at the beginning of the book is worth quoting. "In discussing the principles on which minimum wages should be fixed we should draw a clear distinction between *minimum* wages and wages above the minimum. The former should be determined primarily by human needs, the latter by the market value of the services rendered."

Friends' Quarterly Examiner, Tenth month, 1918, and First month, 1919.

These two numbers have come to hand since the last issue of the BULLETIN. As is natural, their contents relate mostly to current and possible future events, and there is very much of interest concerning these fields. In the number for Tenth month there is a paper by John E. Southall on Morgan Llwd (1619?-1659) (Morgan Floyd or Lloyd, for he goes by all those names). He was an able Welshman, a historian, preacher and poet. "He was an earnest and eloquent preacher, and in a considerable degree inclined towards Quakerism though remaining among the Independents."¹ In the number for First month Anna L. Littleboy has an interesting paper, "Quaker Embassies a Century Ago," referring specially to the visits of Quakers to the Continent. Among those mentioned are Elizabeth Robson, Elizabeth Fry, Stephen Grellet, William Allen and Thomas Shillitoe.

Annual Monitor for 1918. From October 1, 1916, to September 30, 1917. John Bellows, Eastgate, Gloucester, 1917 [1918?]. 3½ x 5½ in., pp. xi, 174. 2s.

This annual, this being its one hundred and sixth number, resembles previous issues in almost all essentials except two: first, the larger number whose death was directly caused by the war, the number being fifty-three as against about thirty in the previous year, most of whom are reported as "killed in action;" second, largely as the result of the former, the reduction of the average age at death which was 63 years as against 66½ years in 1914-1915.

¹ Norris, *John Ap. John*, 1007, p. 4; *Journal of George Fox*, Cambridge edition, 1,422.

The longest, and to Americans, probably the most interesting memoir is that of Isaac Sharp, the late Recording Secretary of English Friends. There are other memoirs well worthy of perusal, such as Daniel Oliver of Kew Gardens; John William Steel, William R. Nash and Joseph Firth Clark, which show how deeply religious men can take an active and influential part in civil, scientific and municipal life. There are sixteen portraits. What appears to be a typographical error, strange in an establishment like that of Bellows, gives the date of publication as 1917, though the preface stating it is the issue for 1918, is dated *October, 1918*.

The World Within. By Rufus M. Jones, M.A., Litt.D., New York, The Macmillan Co., 1918. 5 x 7½ in., pp. xii, 172. \$1.

This volume is written in the clear and attractive style which we have come to expect in works by this author. Some of the chapters have appeared in the columns of *The Friend* (London), and have been read there; those who have heard the author will recognize other portions in slightly different form, but all will welcome the book. It is to be highly commended as meeting not a few present needs, and being alive to present issues.

On Two Fronts. By T. Corder Catchpool. Edited by his sister, with a foreword by J. Rendel Harris. Headley Bros., London, 1918. 4¼ x 7 in., pp. 176. Paper, 2s.; 95 cents, postpaid, N. Y. Book and Tract Committee, 144 East Twentieth Street, New York.

This little book, though published as long ago as Seventh month, 1918, has only just been allowed by the censor to be exported from Great Britain, at which those who read it will scarcely wonder.

The volume consists of two parts, (1) the experiences of the author as a member of the F. A. U. (Friends' Ambulance Unit) as related in letters to his sister ("9th November, 1914," to "14th May, 1916"), and (2) his experiences as an absolute Conscientious Objector in England, with accounts of four courts-martial and his sentences.

It should be said in explanation that the author served eighteen months in the F. A. U. with great distinction, but came to feel that owing to the Conscription Act the unit was "in effect a conscript unit . . . the iron hand lurking in the background" (p. 107). Under such circumstances he wrote: "I am clear that the time has come for me to resign" (p. 108). He did so; his exemption was withdrawn, and he was four times court-martialed and condemned to imprisonment at hard labor. The last sentence (Fourth month 1, 1918) was eighteen months at hard labor in Ipswich civil prison. *The Friend* (London) of 31st of First month, 1919, reports him as still undergoing his sentence. It should be noted that at the last trial he wore his "Mons Ribbon, which had

been awarded him by the *War Office* in recognition of his work with the F. A. U. in 1914!"

Those who wish to learn what the work of an ambulance unit was, told in a lively interesting manner—or read a graphic account of a great battle (the second battle of Ypres) in a manner far better than most newspaper correspondents and absolutely truthful; or wish to understand the position of a Conscientious Objector of the highest type—should not fail to secure this little book. It is one of the "war books" which will have permanent value. The author's position is indicated by the following statements: "I am not concerned to secure exemption from military service, but to bear witness to the Truth as it is revealed to me." "I have little desire for my own safety and comfort when hundreds of thousands of my fellow-men of all nations are laying down their lives. . . . I understand and honor those, my comrades, who have enlisted in the army to fight, as they believe, for the right. The greatest sacrifice I have ever made is to withhold from sharing with them their sublime surrender" (p. 109).

Those who have had the privilege of personal acquaintance with Corder Catchpool, much as his character was appreciated, did not realize its depth, its beauty and its courage.

The Next Step in Social and Industrial Reconstruction, being Papers prepared for Meetings of the Committee on War and the Social Order (appointed by London Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends), together with Minutes recording the considered Views of the Committee and a short Bibliography. London, Headley Bros [1918]. 1s. net. 5¼ x 8¾ in., pp. 104. 55 cents postpaid.

It is to be regretted that the Committee under whose auspices this collection of papers has been issued did not place upon the title-page a disclaimer of being responsible for the opinions expressed by individual writers as well as giving that information in the "Foreword." It is to be feared that some rather hasty readers may not recognize this fact, and will hold the Committee in some degree as putting its *imprimatur* on the very extreme, impracticable views expressed by some of the contributors, who seem to see little difference between the "next step" and a long jump, or between *reconstruction* and *destruction*. The Editor well remarks, "It is quite evident that we are far from being able to make any final and generally acceptable pronouncement" (p. 10).

The first Essay, "The Next Step," by J. Edward Hodgkin, is in some degree a review of those which follow. It is a well-balanced, thoughtful and suggestive paper.

Curiously enough there is no date given either on the title page or in the "Foreword" to indicate time of issue.

The Return of "the Mayflower." An Interlude. By Rendel Harris, Manchester. At the University Press, Longmans, Green and Company, London, New York, etc., 1919. 6 x 9 in., pp. vi, 37. Two illustrations; one Hymn, and one Psalm with Musical Notes.

What shall we call this little book—a *jeu d'esprit*? for it certainly is a play of wit—or a serious production? In it the past and present *both* unite beneath Time's flowing tide. It would be a good test of one's general reading to verify all allusions, and place all quotations and adaptations.

The author has rarely ever let his fancy roam quite so far afield, as in this Interlude, as he calls it; every page is characteristic. Those who have the wit to read beneath the surface will find a purpose high and true.

Chilton in the Preface should be Chilton.

The Founders: Portraits of Persons Born abroad who came to the Colonies before the Year 1701, with an Introduction, Biographical Outlines, and Comments. By Charles Knowles Bolton. Two volumes. Boston: The Boston Athenæum, 1919, 6 x 9 in., pp. vii, 690 (paged continuously). \$12.00.

In these handsome volumes there are several portraits of interest to Friends, as well as the sketches of the subjects and the comments on the portraits themselves. The editor gives two portraits of Hannah Penn, making one the frontispiece of the first volume. He says of this: "The reader may well ask why Hannah Penn's face is opposite the title-page of this book, when she was for so short a time in America. There is but one answer: We like her face and we admire her brave spirit" (p. 286). Probably most of the readers of the BULLETIN will agree with his opinion. Other Quaker portraits are, James Logan, Isaac Norris and Mrs. Mary (Lloyd) Norris, William Penn (the armor portrait), Samuel Carpenter, William Coddington (probably *not* the first Coddington), Edward Shippen (of doubtful authenticity), and George Keith. Of this last portrait there is a most interesting account which gives a good idea of the method and care which the author has taken to verify his work and the portraits under consideration. In this study of Keith's portrait he gives generous credit to the aid furnished by Norman Penney, of Friends' Reference Library, Devonshire House, London, and to the editor of the BULLETIN.

Other portraits specially interesting to Friends are those of John Endecott and Edward Rawson, who figure so largely in Bishop's "New England Judged" as persecutors of the Quakers in Boston, and of Sir William Berkeley, of Virginia, who was so "peevish and brittle" towards William Edmundson. (*Journal*, p. 60.)

The mechanical execution of the volumes and of the portraits is excellent.

NOTES AND QUERIES

ORIGIN OF THE NAME "NINE PARTNERS."—The name Nine Partners is said in the History of "Duchess" County, 1682-1882, to have been applied to a large tract of land rather centrally located in the present county, which was purchased from the crown by a co-partnership of the following nine men in 1697, viz.: Caleb Heathcote, Augustus Graham, James Emmott, Henry Filkins, David Jamison, Hendryck Ten Eyck, John Aaretson, William Creed and Jarvis Marshall. Thus the name was applied to a section of country, as the Oblong Patent and Oswego Patent gave names to others. The record of the establishment of a Friends' meeting here has not been found. Settlement was slow at first, but very rapid after 1750, so probably about that time the meeting was set up and took the name then held by its location. As a locality the name went out with the founding of the Town of Washington in 1788, but the Boarding School adopted the name of the meeting about 1796. The meetings — Quarterly and Monthly—have continued its use, and a few years ago the Nine Partners Burial Ground Association purchased of the remnant of the "Hicksite" Friends the old meeting-house and burial ground to be kept in good order perpetually. The name is much esteemed by the city dwell-

ers and one of the streets they have named Nine Partners Lane.

A. FRANKLIN SWIFT.

Millbrook, N. Y., Tenth month 20, 1918.

NOTICES OF WHITTIER.—In the third volume of The Cambridge History of American Literature (Putnams), just published, there is an appreciative chapter on Whittier by William Morton Payne, who awards him high praise. There is a bibliography of sixteen pages, which is probably one of the fullest of Whittier that has been made. It is the work of Frank Humphrey Ristine.

In the "Early Years of the Saturday Club (1855-1870)," Edward W. Emerson, Editor, Boston, 1918, there is another appreciative notice (8 pages) of Whittier by Bliss Perry; also a portrait.

"DEATH OF OLDEST QUAKER PREACHER."—"Rich in years and beloved by the entire community, 'Aunt' Mary Goddard, the oldest person in Maine and the oldest Quaker preacher in the world, died on January 23, 1919, says a Brunswick dispatch to the Boston *Globe*. She would have been 109 years old had she lived to March 10.

"Mrs. Goddard had apparently been enjoying good health this

winter, but on Monday contracted a cold and began to fail rapidly.

"She was a minister of the Friends' Church and preached regularly every Sunday at the Friends' Meeting House in Durham until she was more than 100 years old. She was born in South Durham and preached at Sandwich, N. H., for a number of years."

ANOTHER CENTENARIAN QUAKER PREACHER. — The above record was almost reached by another Quaker preacher, a member of London Yearly Meeting, who died in 1901. Elizabeth (Sanderson) Hanbury was born Sixth month 9, 1793, and died Tenth month 10, 1901, aged 108 years and four months. Mary Goddard, at the time of her death, was six months older, which makes her the oldest Quaker preacher on record.

Both retained their faculties in a remarkable degree. Elizabeth Hanbury a few weeks before her 108th birthday composed and dictated the following versified message to London Yearly Meeting, which appears in the Minutes of that year, "Desiring that those who have upheld the faith in times long past might be kept in mind and their example followed."

"Fox, Penn, Woolman, Allen,
Grellet and Gurney,
And many more of faith the
same,
Made mortal life a heavenward
journey,
Eternal happiness their aim.

"Saved by the power of Jesus
And by his mercy blest,
Whose love from guilt releases,
And gives eternal rest.

"No power of language can ex-
press
The gratitude to God we owe,
For all the blessings in excess
That from Divine Redemp-
tion flow."

"TRYAL OF WILLIAM PENN."—Marshall, Jones Co., of Boston, announce for publication during the present spring "The Tryal of William Penn and William for Causing a Tumult," edited by Don C. Seitz, "the material for which has been brought together from newspapers and pamphlets of the time."

AN INCIDENT IN GEORGE FOX'S TRAVELS, 1657. — "And the next day we passed from thence [through Tenby] into Flintshire and sounded the day of the Lord through the towns, and came into Wrexham at night, where many of Floyd's [Morgan Lloyd] people came to us, but very rude and wild and airy they were, and little sense of truth they had, yet was some convinced in the town; and the next morning there was a Lady sent for me, and she had a teacher at her house. And they was both very light and airy people, and was too light to receive the weighty things of God; and in her lightness she came and asked me whether she should cut my hair. And I was moved to

reprove her, and bid her cut down the corruptions in her with the sword of the Spirit of God. And so after I had admonished her, we passed away; and after[wards] she made her boast in her frothy mind that she came behind me and cut off a lock of my hair, which was a lie." *Journal*, Cambridge edition, 1,284,285. Spelling modernized.

JOURNAL OF THE FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—The last number of this "*Journal*" which has reached us is number 3 of volume 15. As usual, there is a great deal of interest, many of the brief notices being not the least important. The principal paper is the continuation of that on Jean de Marsillac by the Editor, Norman Penney, which increases in interest.

MILITARY TRAINING IN 1687.— "Taken from John Bowne for his son Samuel not training, two sheep by John Harrison, the 3rd of the Seventh month, 1687, worth £1.0.0." From *Eccl. Records, State of New York*, 2, 98.

This is the Samuel Bowne a number of whose letters with letters of his wife were recently published in the BULLETIN.

JOURNAL OF PETER ANDREWS (1707-1750).—John Woolman, in his "*Journal*" under years 1746, 1747, speaks of this Friend as "my beloved friend and neighbor." He

was companion to John Woolman in at least two religious journeys, the first in New Jersey, covering three hundred and forty miles; the second to New England, covering about fifteen hundred miles, and having "sailed about one hundred and fifty!" In a notice of Peter Andrews, John Smith, of Burlington, New Jersey (d. 1771), states that he consulted the *Journal* of Peter Andrews, and quotes from it. Does any reader know whether this *Journal* is still in existence, and if so, in whose hands? See Woolman's *Journal*, New Century edition, pp. 61-64.

AN UNUSUAL DECLINATION.—When Joseph Firth Clark (a Friend) was Mayor of Doncaster, England (1908), he received an official invitation to meet King Edward VII on the race-course after the great race of the day had been run. To the astonishment of many, and the sorrow or anger of others, he respectfully *declined* the invitation. He thus wrote: "It would indeed have been a great honor, which I should have looked upon all my life with the greatest satisfaction, as I have a profound respect and regard for our most gracious King, whom I desire to honor in every way as one of his most loyal subjects. Though I have lived in Doncaster all my life, I have never once attended the races, and did not therefore feel that I could consistently break through the rule even for so great an honor." *Annual Monitor*, 1918, p. 37.

Our Friend, B. Seebohm Rowntree, has a valuable paper in the *Contemporary* for January, 1919, on "Prospects and Tasks for Social Reconstruction."

Dr. John Rickman is given the leading place in the *Atlantic Monthly*, March, 1919, for his paper on "Commonplaces in Buzuluk." Buzuluk is a city in the province of Samara, southern Russia, almost exactly north of the Caspian.

Amelia E. Barr, the novelist, died March 11, 1919, within a few weeks of her 88th birthday. She will be remembered as the author of "Friend Olivia," an interesting story of the times of George Fox. In this she gives a very sympathetic picture of the early Friends near Ulverston, in which George Fox is introduced. As she herself was born and lived in early life near Ulverston her details are accurate. She makes Fox too old, however, for at the supposed date of the story he could not have been over thirty-four. She was a prolific author, having written upwards of eighty volumes.

Henry J. Cadbury, of Haverford, has an informing and convincing paper in the "Journal of Biblical Literature," vol. 37, i-ii (1918), pp. 20, on "The Basis of Early Christian Anti-Militarism," with many quotations.

WHITTIER NOT A WAR-POET.-- "The term 'war-poet'—especially

that of 'Quaker War-Poet'—is a misnomer, and in my case, I have never written a poem in favor or in praise of war. If possible, strike out the phrase, as I do not wish to be represented as false to my life-long principles."—From a letter of Whittier's to John J. Piatt, dated Amesbury, Dec. 7, 1878, enclosing a clipping from the *New York Evening Post*, and objecting to a term there applied to him.

JOHN SCOTT OF AMWELL.—In "The English Village," an attractive "Literary Study" by Julia Patton, Ph.D., recently (1919) published by the Macmillan Co., there is a somewhat extended notice (pp. 102-104) of the Quaker poet of the eighteenth century, John Scott of Amwell. The poem upon which most attention is bestowed is that descriptive of the village which he loved and from which his usual appellation is derived—Amwell in Hertfordshire on the river Lea about four miles from the town of Hertford. A re-perusal of this poem, after many years, confirms the favorable notice by the present critic of this old, quiet, half-forgotten poem. A greater contrast to much of the verse of this day, especially the *vers libre*, it would be hard to find.

IN "A History of the Penal, Reformatory, and Correctional Institutions of the State of New Jersey, Analytical and Documentary, by Harry Elmer Barnes"

... (Trenton, MacCrellich & Quigley Co., 1918, pp. 655), will be found an account of the "Quaker system of work-house imprisonment, for punishment, reformation, and instruction in industry."

"The penal system of East Jersey provided only a county jail system, under control of the sheriff, for detention rather than punishment or reformation; but the Quakers of West Jersey undertook to establish a prison system, having as its basis the work-house, with a view both to punishment and reformation. The work-house system first found concrete development in the Middlesex County work-house in 1768."

ANECDOTE OF WARNER MIFFLIN.
—"The battle of Germantown (Oct. 4, 1777) happened on the day of the Yearly Meeting of the Quakers, in Philadelphia. In the time of the battle, these friends of peace were engaged in prayer, that Divine protection might be granted to the city and the people; and in preparing to renew their testimony against the spirit of war. While James Thornton was writing their Testimony, the cannon shook the house where they were assembled, and the air was darkened by the smoke of the guns. Warner Mifflin (1745-1708) undertook the service of communicating the Testimony to Gen-

eral Washington and General Howe. To perform this duty he had to walk in blood, and among the dead bodies of those who had fallen in battle. He performed the service with great freedom and intrepidity. In the conversation with General Washington, he said expressly, 'I am opposed to the revolution, and to all changes of government which occasion war and bloodshed.' — From Comly's "Friends' Miscellany," Vol. 221, 222.

"LAY RELIGION."—"Lay Religion," by Henry T. Hodgkin, M.A., M.B. Cantab. London, Headley Bros. 1919, 5 x 7½ in., pp. 226. 3s. 6d. \$1.50. This volume has come to hand too late for an extended review in the proper place. It is the first of a new series entitled, "The Christian Revolution." The prospectus says, "These books are written under the persuasion that only a religious solution is adequate to the world's need, and that only upon the principles for which Jesus of Nazareth stands in history can the world be fashioned to heart's desire." The work is written in a non-controversial, and yet an uncompromising spirit, and it deserves to be commended to the thoughtful attention of those who face the momentous issues of to-day with a desire to do their part in placing human society on a solid foundation.



Luca Sharpless

Bulletin of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia

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NOTE.—The editor does not hold himself responsible for any statement made in contributed articles.

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ISAAC SHARPLESS

1848-1920.

It is fitting that we should record our great sense of loss in the recent death of Isaac Sharpless, LL.D., late President of Haverford College, who was in fact the founder of the Friends' Historical Society and its first President. To him more than to any other we owe the organization of this body, which was the outcome of the Centennial celebration at Friends' Meeting House at Fourth and Arch Streets, Philadelphia, in the summer of 1904.

On that remarkable occasion, before an audience of twenty-three hundred, Isaac Sharpless, in his own inimitable way, reviewed the social conditions among Philadelphia Friends a century before. When the souvenir book of the Centennial was published soon after, his Introduction, which was also the first official publication of this Society, contained the following striking paragraph: "It is well occasionally to look into the past, and gather up the standards and principles of our ancestors in the faith. It is well if it lead us to reconsecrate ourselves to the cause for which they wrought—the pure religion of Christ. We may not adopt all their methods; the testimonies which they upheld may in part be replaced by others more vital to our day. But those among us who see beneath the surface will feel no disposition to build on any other groundwork than theirs, nor to adopt modes of action essentially out of harmony with their principles. The lack of historic background, while compatible with much Christian goodness and zeal and openness of mind, seems, when applied to congregations, to lead to opportunism; the selection of methods dictated by the emergencies of the present, and to destroy that continuity of principle so essential to the preservation of the type. If the spirit and motives of the best Friends of the past were known and read by all of us who bear the name of Friend, they would be interwoven through our lives as through the pages of prophecy is interwoven, 'thus saith the Lord.'" With this most characteristic setting forth of the principles which he felt should guide the future acts of this Historical Society, we

may pause for a moment's backward glance at the career of this Quaker historian.

Isaac Sharpless, son of Aaron and Susanna (Forsythe) Sharpless, was born December 16th, 1848. A ponderous quarto tome of over 1300 pages, published in 1887, preserves the record of the immigrant ancestor John Sharpless and the thousands of his substantial progeny in the community in which Isaac Sharpless was a birthright Friend. The farm of his father and grandfather Isaac Sharpless, where he was born, had been the homestead of the family for several generations. It lay at the foot of Osborne Hill among the gently undulating hills of East Bradford, now (since 1856) Birmingham Township, Chester County, Pennsylvania. The impressionable years of boyhood were spent here, where his daily walks took him over the historic battlefield of the Brandywine, and where the semi-weekly worship of the family led a little southeasterly to Birmingham Friends' Meeting House (Orthodox)—the old Meeting House of the "Hicksite" body near by having served as the hospital on the battle ground.

He was a diligent reader of the choice collection of books in the old Birmingham Library, supported by members of that meeting and others. From this little library fiction was carefully excluded but its absence was filled by a double portion of biography, history, travel and popular science. From childhood he had listened to Revolutionary tales of the neighborhood and had seen the graves of the British and American soldiers in the burial ground at the old Meeting House. Doubtless these early influences told upon his career, which began among the historic surroundings in which he grew up, but it was his home training that had more to do in making him what he was than the historic features of the country. His first school was that conducted by Friends near the Meeting House.

From Birmingham Isaac Sharpless went to Westtown School in November, 1862, where, after completing its course of study, he returned to teach mathematics in 1868, and where the next autumn, his parents came and resided for five years as Superintendent and Matron. With the exception of one year—1872-3—spent at Harvard, where he obtained the degree of Bachelor of

Science in the Lawrence Scientific School, Isaac Sharpless remained at Westtown. In the autumn of 1875 he was appointed Instructor of Mathematics at Haverford College, where he spent the remainder of his useful life. In 1876 (August 10th) he married Lydia Trimble Cope, daughter of Paschal and Amy A. Cope of West Chester, Pennsylvania. She survives him, with one son and five daughters.

In 1879 Isaac Sharpless was made Professor of Mathematics and Astronomy, in which capacity he served until 1884. Readers of Philadelphia periodicals will recall the able articles, on the aspect of the heavens at different periods, which constantly appeared over his signature during those years, and which, together with the reports from the Haverford Observatory, made its service known throughout the academic world, both here and in Europe.

For three years he served as Dean of the College, when he was elected President in 1887. His Honorary Degrees were, 1883, Sc.D. from the University of Pennsylvania; 1889, LL.D. from Swarthmore College; 1903, L.H.D. from Hobart College; 1915, LL.D. from Harvard.

His first literary efforts are to be found in the bound MS. volumes of "The Cabinet," a monthly periodical supported by the teachers and older students of Westtown. His contributions "always possessed a virility which distinguished them from others." A contemporary says of him: "The slow progress of educational matters in Philadelphia Yearly Meeting rested strongly upon his mind." The autumn of 1880 witnessed the advent of "The Student," a modest little monthly magazine "devoted to the interests of education in the Society of Friends." The editors and publishers were Isaac Sharpless and Watson W. Dewees, and it is a striking fact that "it was the first venture of the kind in the history of American Quakerism." Its management changed at the end of four years, but during that period there were several signed articles which were characteristic, besides his editorials. Any attempt to write the history of education in the Society of Friends must take into account the conspicuous part played by Isaac Sharpless in Philadelphia in the early 80's of the last cen-

tury. When the "Westonian" appeared in 1895 it had his unqualified support, and his contributions are to be found in the appended bibliography.

Isaac Sharpless' best monument is the college into which entered his whole personality. Here for thirty years he remained, much beloved and universally respected; a virile figure, with something of the old time simplicity which left its impress on every student who sat under him. It was his custom throughout to keep in personal touch with every class entering college by teaching two of their courses himself. He has unconsciously given us a true picture of himself in his book, "The American College," in which he describes the ideal college President:

" . . . He is not primarily a taskmaster or disciplinarian, but a man who is giving his life for a cause, and not only for an abstract cause, but for (men) as individuals; that he has a message for them which he must deliver, and that he feels that the very future of one or more of them lies in the proper use of that power. When he feels thus, he will preach, and his sermon will not be forgotten by some of them."

Not only was he serious in his ideals; he was full of the humor which one finds in a Lincoln. When applauded for a long time at the Haverford Alumni Dinner of 1918, he said: "I clearly understand that the most popular thing I ever did as President of Haverford was to resign." He often told the story, repeated by Dean Briggs in one of his books, about his conversation with a certain college culprit: I.S.: "I have reason to believe that thee is both a thief and a liar!" Answer: "President Sharpless, I may be a liar, but I give you my word I'm not a thief!" It was this ability to loosen a tight situation, to use the solvent of a telling epigram, that contributed markedly to his great and lasting influence.

Isaac Sharpless's pedagogic inclinations, and perhaps his humor may have come from his greatgrandfather, John Forsythe (1754-1840), a sandy-haired, gay young Presbyterian from Ireland who later joined Friends and became noted as a teacher at Birmingham and at Westtown.

In addition to his Presidency, 1904-1911, of Friends' Historical

Society of Philadelphia, he was active in other historical work, serving as Executive Councillor, 1905-1916, and President, 1909-1912, of the Pennsylvania History Club; Vice President, 1914-1915, and President, 1915-1916, of Friends' Historical Society of England; member of the Committee of Seven Advisers to the Works of William Penn, 1910-1920, and Councillor, 1910-1920, of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania. His books quickly gained for him high repute for insight into human motives, sympathetic yet unbiased interpretation of Quaker policies, scientific care in the weighing of evidence, and a corresponding moderation in the statement of conclusions. Thus his was a foremost place among the historians of Pennsylvania.

An equally high ideal was held up to all who followed Isaac Sharpless in his work for clean politics, since his interests were sufficiently wide to impress the reader of his record with his accomplishments in the quiet life which sought no lime-light outside the circle of his duty. His personality, for this very reason, extended his efforts for the realization of his ideals to his college, his neighborhood and his country. The mind of the man was strictly accountable to a sensitive conscience. Duty and not expediency always determined his course, and the history of Quakerism and of his State will be the poorer for his loss. Though he had been appointed as one of the Commission, upon the revision of the Constitution of Pennsylvania, the condition of his health did not permit him to serve. His death occurred at his home at Haverford, January 16th, 1920, interment being made at Haverford Friends' Meeting House.

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1879-1919.

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JOURNAL OF PETER ANDREWS (1707-1750).

In reply to the query in the BULLETIN for 5th month, 1919 (p. 42), which I have only just seen, I am not quite sure whether this refers to an *American Journal* or otherwise. It may however be of interest to readers to speak of a MS. copy of Peter Andrews's *English Journal* (1755-6), in my possession. It is contained in one of two folio volumes in the neat and excellent caligraphy of John Perry, a Quaker minister of Ipswich, who died in 1824, aged 70. He was brother to Daniel Perry of Woodbridge, my wife's great-grandfather, which accounts for our possession of these two interesting volumes, almost wholly consisting of copies of Quaker journals, biographies, letters and miscellaneous pieces. The folio containing the *Journal of Peter Andrews* consists of 272 pages bound in parchment, the latter portion of this volume from page 249 being in the hand of John Perry, Junior, whose valuable *Diary* I also possess. There is no date to indicate when this MS. was compiled, but it is much later than the other, the index of which is dated 1778. The *Journal* is continued with the supplement on pp. 1 to 28 both inclusive, and is headed, *A Brief Journal of the Travels and Labours in the Gospel, of Peter Andrews, whilst in England, Written by Himself*. He commences: "In the Year 1775, being ye 4th Month 27th I set out from Home, staid at Philadelphia til ye first Day of ye 5th Month, then travel'd to Chester, and went on board the Ship Lydia, Peter Reeve, Captain; sail'd that night to Newcastle, then came to Anchor, after that came on ye Wide ocean," etc. There follows an interesting account of this voyage, meetings on board, etc. He landed eventually 2-vi-1755 on the Isle of Wight, then to Portsmouth by water, and on 4-vi month, by post, chaise to London, where he met "my Ancient & well Esteemed Friend Samuel Hopwood," etc. He lodged at Daniel and Mary Weston's when in London, the latter a Friend he had known in America and highly valued.

The *Journal* proceeds to recount his various travels throughout the country and is particularly interesting as containing such a

large number of names of persons and places. He firstly visited London meetings, then proceeds to York and Yorkshire, and the following is the order in which he visited the meetings of Friends, etc., which is a remarkably extensive list, considering the short time allotted him. After Yorkshire he proceeded to the shires, etc., of Lincoln, Durham, York (again), Derby, York, Lincoln, Cambridge, Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, London, Essex (again), where he heard of the death of his dear daughter Temperance, aged nineteen; and mentions his wife and son Benajah. Then to Herts, Bedford, Bucks, Oxford, Gloucester, Oxford and Gloucester again, Bristol City, to Somerset, Wilts, Oxford, Middlesex, London, Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk; and the Journal ends at Edmundsbury (Bury St. Edmunds), Norfolk, 25-vi-1756. "Here our Friend left off his narrative, says the writer of the supplementary account of his last days, which is interesting. He was taken ill and stayed for a short time at Woodbridge, Suffolk, and in spite of failing powers proceeded to his Friend John Oxley's at Norwich, where he died 13-vii-1756, and was buried in Friends' Burial Ground there 18-vii month, where was a very large gathering of Friends and others at his burial." "Few Friends (says the supplement) who have travelled in this nation have been more approved or had more general service in so short a space of time." Peter Andrews upon his deathbed referred to his wife and children, so that he evidently had more than the two named previously.

Since writing the above, I have come across an interesting allusion to Peter Andrews in the valuable diary kept at Jordans, Bucks, by Rebekah Butterfield, in the 18th century, the original of which is at Devonshire House Reference Library. After 15-iv-1756, Peter was in counties Bedford, Hertford and Buckingham, had, as his *Journal* relates, "an Even^e Meet^e at Chesham, then travel'd to Wickham, [High Wycombe], here I had a Large Meet^e in ye Even^e w^{ch} I hope was not disgraceful, [*i.e.*, did not discredit truth], Lodg^d at Jo^s Worsters, then pass'd on to Jordans, where I had a Large Comfortable Meet^e; then travel'd forward," etc.

The Butterfield diary written at Stone Dean, Jordans, says under date "1st day, 4th mo. 25th. William Pits, [of Southwark], & Peter Andrews was at Jor: Meett: Peter came from Wickham on 7th d[ay] Joseph Stevens Junier Came wth him; he Lives at West Jersey In America & a friend from London wth him; Lodged & entertain'd at A[braham] b[utterfield]s [R. B's husband], & Prince [Butterfield, their son] went wth them after Meet: to Maiddenhead."

The London Friend who accompanied Peter to Jordans was perhaps "one James Healy from Wapping, an Inocent Young Man" previously named in the *Journal* as bearing him company on his travels.

I may perhaps be allowed to add that the Perry manuscript also contains the *Journal* of Susannah Morris, of Richland, township of Bucks, Pennsylvania, upon her second visit to Great Britain, etc., in 1744, then in her sixty-third year, with a preface by John Griffith, dated 1771, who first remembered her when he was a youth of fourteen as belonging to the same meeting, that of Abington, ten miles from Philadelphia. He speaks also of her third visit to Great Britain, and of her earlier one in 1731.

After the *Journal* is a long undated letter from Susannah Morris to her husband and children when she was in England. There is also an account dated 1775 by her niece Deborah Morris of her last illness; in all some 26 pp. folio closely written. We also find from the Butterfield Diary that Susannah Morris was at Jordans Meeting in 1729, 1745 and 1752; and Sarah Morris of America, in 1773, and there are many other references to visits to Jordans Meeting by American Friends. These include the following names, viz., Elizabeth Ashbridge (1754), of Pennsylvania; Thomas Carrington (1778); Thomas Chalkley (1735); John Churchman (1750); Phoebe Dodge, of Long Island (1753); Elizabeth Drinker (1794); Samuel and Ann Galloway, of Maryland (1719); John Griffith, of Pennsylvania (1749, 1752, 1757, 1762, 1769); Jane Hoskins, of Pennsylvania (1750); Elizabeth Hudson, of Philadelphia (1750); William Hunt (1771); Ann Jessup (1785); Arthur (or Arster) Jones, of Pennsylvania (1732,

1738); Rebecca Jones (1788); Ebenezer Large, of West New Jersey, Burlington (1746); William Matthews (or Matthies) (1785); Elizabeth Morgan, of Philadelphia (1745); Ann Moore, of Baltimore (1761); John Pemberton, of Philadelphia (1750); Edward Penington, of Pennsylvania (1749); Mary Pennel, of New Concord, Chester County, Pennsylvania (1732); Samuel Smith (1791); Daniel Stanton, of Philadelphia (1750); Thomas Thornborough (1771); William Tomlinson (1785); Robert Valentine (1784); Sarah Worall, of Chester County, Middletown, Pennsylvania (1754); and Joseph White "of ye falls" Bucks County, Pennsylvania.

JOSEPH JOSHUA GREEN.

GODWYN LODGE,
CLIVE VALE,
HASTINGS, ENGLAND, 5 ii 1920.

REVOLUTIONARY JOURNAL OF MARGARET MORRIS OF BURLINGTON, NEW JERSEY. III, CONCLUSION.

Jan. 12. We are told to-day of the robbery of one of the commissaries; the sum lost is said to be £10,000. I have not heard who is suspected of committed the robbery. The Earl of B—n,³⁵ who quitted his habitation on the first alarm of the Hessians coming in, is returned with his family. We have some hopes that our refugee will be presented with a pair of lawn sleeves, when dignities become cheap, and suppose he will then think himself too *big* to creep into his old auger-hole;³⁶ but I shall remind him of the *place*, if I live to see him created first B—p of B—n [Bishop of Burlington].

Jan. 13. Several of the *torics*, who went out of town while the gondolas were here, are returned, on hearing there has been a general jail-delivery at Philadelphia. One man, who thought

³⁵ "Earl of Burlington" ironical. Dr. Jonathan Odell.

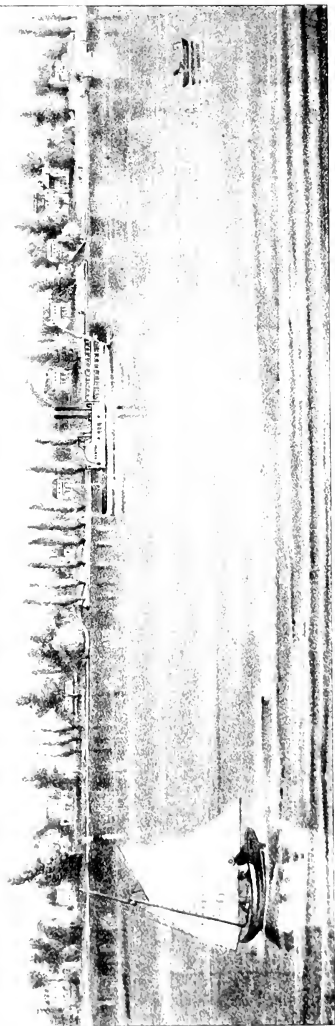
³⁶ See *ante*, p. 12, note.

himself immovable, has been compelled to swear or sign allegiance to the States.

Jan. 14. The *lie* of the day runs thus; that the New England-men have taken Long Island, are in possession of King's Bridge, that Hen. Lee is retaken by his own men, the regulars in a desperate condition intrenching at Brunswick, and quite hopeless of gaining any advantage over the Americans in this campaign. A letter from my amiable friend, E. C.,³⁷ informs me her husband's battalion was in the front of the battle at —, and behaved remarkably well; they took 200 prisoners, and left 80 on the field; he acknowledges the preserving hand of Providence in bringing him safe through such a scene of blood, &c. I hear Gen. Howe sent a request to Washington, desiring three days cessation of arms, to take care of the wounded, and bury the dead, which was refused; what a woful tendency war has to harden the human heart against the tender feelings of humanity! Well it may be called a *horrid art*, thus to change the nature of man. I thought that even barbarous nations had a sort of religious regard for their dead. A friend from Trenton tells me poor A. [Anthony] Morris died in three hours after he was wounded and was buried in Friends' burying-ground, at Stony Brook. Also Capt. [William] Shippen was buried by him. The same friend told us that a man was killed in his bed at the house of Stacey Potts, at Trenton, in the time of the engagement there, and that Potts's daughter, about the age of nine, went from home to lodge, the night preceding the battle, and returning in the morning, just as she stepped into her father's door, a ball met her (being directed by the unerring hand of Providence), took the comb out of her hair, and gently grazed the skin of her head without doing her any farther injury: who shall dare to say they are shot at random?

Jan. 15. I was a good deal affected this evening, at seeing the hearse in which Gen. Mercer's body was conveyed over the river on the ice, to be buried in Philadelphia; poor Capt. Shippen's body was also taken over at the same time, to be reburied at Philadelphia. P. Reed gave us the following account of a report they heard from a man, whom her sister sent to Burlington

³⁷ Esther (or Hetty) Cox.



GREEN BANK, BURLINGTON, NEW JERSEY

Scene of the Revolutionary Journal of Margaret Morris. From an old Lithograph of a Drawing by John Collins, of Burlington

to bring some things they were in want of (the night the last soldiers came into town). Reed's wife hired a wagon to come here, and got one of her neighbors to come and fetch some of her goods. Just as the man began to lead the wagon, the soldiers came running into town, and the man whipped up his horses and drove away his goods. When he got to Reed's house in the country, he told them there was 10,000 wagons in Burlington, that Gen. Washington, Lee, Howe, and all the Americans were engaged in battle, in Burlington, that Washington was mortally wounded, and the streets were full of dead bodies, and that the groans of the dying were still in his ears. They opened their letters in fearful haste, and found nothing relative to what the man told them, nor could they convince him that his fright had magnified the matter, till they sent a person up here to inquire.

.....³⁸ part were permitted to come back for a change of linen, but obliged to return to Bordentown again in order to be taken before Gen. Putnam to have a hearing, etc.

Jan. 31, 1777. The scruples of my own mind being satisfied in keeping my son here till the search was over, I felt peace in the prospect of sending him to my dear brother, C. M.,³⁹ and now that he is gone from me, I feel like a merchant who has ventured *half* his fortune out to sea, anxious for the success of the voyage; oh that it may be a prosperous one to my dear boy; then shall I be happy.

Feb. 3. To-day appeared in print a proclamation of Gen. Washington's, ordering all persons who had taken protection of the king's commissioners, to come in thirty days, and swear allegiance to the United States of America, or else repair with their families to the lines of the British troops. What will become of our refugee now?

Feb. 4. To-day eight boats full of soldiers sailed up the river to join the continental forces; they appeared to be very merry with their drums beating and their colors flying; this is said to

³⁸ One sheet (two pages) of the manuscript is unfortunately missing here.

³⁹ Dr. Charles Moore living at Montgomery Square, Pennsylvania.

be the day appointed for our friends, who are prisoners to have a hearing before Putnam; a man, who is not a lover of peace, told us it was expected there would be bloody work on the occasion.

Feb. 6. Several hundred soldiers, who were returning from the camp, were quartered on the inhabitants, and in general, I hear behaved well.

Feb. 7. All the soldiers quartered on the town last night, went away to-day. The prisoners taken from our town and Mount Holly, discharged and returned home; several of them much fatigued, and some sick.

Feb. 11. This evening two doctors were brought into town, and put into prison, for inoculating in their families, contrary to the orders of Gen. Putnam, who had prohibited them from inoculating. They were discharged in a few days.

April 10.⁴⁰ John Lawrence, Thomas Watson, and several other persons obnoxious to the State, were imprisoned here, and divers others bound over to their good behavior, and to appear at the next court, to be held,—*none knows where*.

April 17. A number of flat-bottomed boats went up the river and landed troops at Bristol. It is said 1500 men are billeted on the inhabitants there.

April 19. A report that there has been an engagement between the British troops and Americans; the latter victorious. B. Helm summoned before the governor, and bound to answer at the next court for preferring silver dollars to paper. The English said to be in motion, and that the fleet is in the river.

May 7. Captain Webb and his family came here in order to set off the next day for New York, having received orders from the governor to depart the State. Just as they were retiring to bed, a captain of the light-horse arrived with a party of soldiers, and demanded the keys of his trunks, some of which they opened, and searched for letters, and took all they could find, and guarded him to his lodging, at R. Smith's, and were all night in his room. They set a guard over his goods, and in the morning returned and

⁴⁰ No reason is given in the Journal for this long intermission of entries. The one or two letters of the period which are given in the "Letters of the Hill Family" are also silent.

examined all his trunks, and then waited on him to Philadelphia, where he was to wait on the general, and answer to sundry charges, one of which was, that he was suspected of being a spy; this he boldly cleared himself of. Another was that he had, in a sermon he preached about two years ago, told the people that if they took up arms against the king, they would be d—d; he likewise pleaded innocent to this, and finding that they could not prove it on him, they referred him to the governor, who reproved him for not taking advantage of a pass he had granted him, two or three weeks ago, and absolutely prohibited him from prosecuting his journey to [New] York, and ordered him to repair with his family to Bethlehem, there to remain during their pleasure, and confined him to a magic circle of six miles.

May 13. The court met here, when several persons confined in our jail—(some tories)—were examined. John Lawrence released; Dan'l Ellis imprisoned, and J. Carty fined *sixpence* for contempt of court; several ordered back to prison; and R. Smith,⁴¹ B. Helm, T. Hulings, and Colin Campbell examined; R. Smith ordered to pay £100 or be confined in prison; he chose the latter, and accordingly took possession of the room J. L. had quitted; the oaths offered to the three others, which they refusing were fined.

May 26. This day Captain Webb and his family left us to go to Bethlehem. W. D.⁴² who some days since received a passport from General Washington, set out for New York the widow Allen accompanying him.

June 7. The reports often coming by expresses, give us reason to believe the English army are in motion, and it is generally supposed they intend to bend their course to Philadelphia.

June 10. A person from the camp came to town to engage a number of guides (to go back with him) who were well acquainted with the different roads to Philadelphia, that in case our people should be obliged to retreat they may not be at a loss.

June 11. Certain intelligence arrived, per express, that the English are at Bound Brook, the Americans at Morristown.

⁴¹ This was Richard Smith.

⁴² William Dillwyn, brother of George Dillwyn.

June 13. Early this morning the soldiers beat to march from Bristol, and in the course of the day several boats full of soldiers, with the Pennsylvania militia, sailed up the river.

June 14. Before daylight this morning, the alarm guns at Princeton, Trenton, Bordentown, and Bristol were fired, and answered by those below. About 9 o'clock, the gondolas and barges again began to appear in sight, and from that time till 9 at night, there have gone up the river five or six gondolas. Several flat-bottomed boats are also gone to Bristol. There is a report of a battle to-day, which seems probable, as we have heard much firing above.

We were told by a woman who lodged in the same room where Gen. Read [Reed] & Col. Cox took shelter when the battle of Trenton dispersed the Americans that they, Read & Cox—had laid awake all night consulting together about the best means of securing themselves & that they came to the determination of setting out next day as soon as it was light, to the British Camp, and joining them with all the men under their command—but when morning came, an express arrived with an account that the Americans had gained a great victory—the English made to flee before the ragged regiments of the Americans—this report put the rebel General & Colonel into high spirits & they concluded to remain firm to the cause of America. They paid me a visit, & tho in my heart I despised them, treated them civilly, & was on the point of telling them their conversation the preceding night had been conveyed to me, as on the wings of the wind, but on second thoughts gave it up, tho perhaps the time may come when they will hear more about it.⁴³

⁴³ This whole paragraph is omitted in John Jay Smith's reprint in "Letters of the Hill Family," without indication or remark. It is possible that it was not given in his copy, but it is more likely that the omission was designedly made. In 1837 and in 1854 it was still too near the time to publish such a story without occasioning unpleasant discussion. At this time, however, there seems no reason for withholding it. Whether the story is true, or not, is impossible to decide now. When the character of the age, and the actual conditions—military and political—are rightly judged, there is much, at least, to palliate, if not to excuse. The American cause was almost desperate, and had not Washington succeeded at Prince-

By a person from Bordentown, we hear twelve expresses came in there from camp. Some of the gondola men and their wives being sick, and no doctor in town to apply to, they were told that Mrs. M. was a skilful woman, and kept medicines to give to the poor; and notwithstanding their late attempts to shoot my poor boy, they ventured to come to me, and, in a very humble manner begged me to come and do something for them. At first I thought they might have a design to put a trick on me, and get me aboard of their gondola, and then pillage my house, as they had done to some others; but on asking where the sick folks were, was told they were lodged in the governor's house. So I went to see them. There was several both men and women, very ill with a fever—some said the camp, or putrid fever; they were broke out in blotches, and, on close examination, it appeared to be the itch fever. I treated them according to art, and they all got well. I thought I had received all my pay, when they thankfully acknowledged my kindness, but lo! in a short time afterwards, a very rough, ill-looking man came to the door and asked for me. When I went to him, he drew me aside and asked if I had any friends in Philadelphia. The question alarmed me, supposing there was some mischief meditated against that poor city; however, I calmly said: "I have an ancient father-in-law, some sisters, and other near friends there." "Well," said the man, "do you wish to hear from them, or send anything by way of refreshment to them? If you do, I will take charge of it, and bring you back anything you may send for." I was very much surprised, and thought, to be sure, he only wanted to get provisions to take to the gondolas, when he told me his wife was one of those I had given medicine to, and this was the only thing he could do

ton, the result, without doubt, would have been almost fatal for the Americans. Knowing this, the reported decision of the two officers was not unnatural. Those who are familiar with the inner history of those days are aware that the character of General Joseph Reed as a politician and as a patriot has been the subject of bitter controversy almost to our own day. There seems little doubt that Margaret Morris herself put full credence in the story as told to her. The paragraph, as here printed, appears in "Nuts for Future Historians to Crack," by Horace W. Smith, Philadelphia, 1856, page 10.

to pay me for my kindness. My heart leaped with joy, and I set about preparing something for my dear absent friends. A quarter of beef, some veal, fowls, and flour were soon put up, and about midnight the man called and took them aboard his boat. He left them at Robert Hopkins's at the Point, from whence my beloved friends took them to town; and, two nights after, a loud knocking at our front door greatly alarmed us. Opening the chamber window, we heard a man's voice saying, "Come down softly and open the door but bring no light." There was something mysterious in such a call, and we concluded to go down and set the candle in the kitchen. When we got to the front door, we asked, "Who are you?" The man replied, "A friend, open quickly;" so the door was opened, and who should it be but our honest gondola man, with a letter, a bushel of salt, a jug of molasses, a bag of rice, some tea, coffee, and sugar, and some cloth for my poor boys—all sent by my kind sisters. How did our hearts and eyes overflow with love to them, and thanks to our Heavenly Father, for such seasonable supplies. May we never forget it. Being now so rich, we thought it our duty to hand out a little to the poor around us who were mourning for want of salt; so we divided the bushel, and gave a pint to every poor person that came for it, and had a great plenty for our own use. Indeed, it seemed as if our little store increased by distributing it, like the bread broken by our Saviour to the multitude, which, when he had blessed it, was so marvellously multiplied.

One morning, having left my chamber at an earlier hour than usual, and casting my eyes towards the river, was surprised to see some hundreds of boats all filled with British soldiers I ran to my dear G. D.'s⁴⁴ room, and begged him to get up and see the sight. He went to the window, and I waited to hear what he would say; but as he said nothing, I called out to him "Brother, what shall we do now?" He opened his door, and sweetly and calmly said, "Let us, my sister, keep still and quiet; I believe no harm will happen to us;" and indeed we were favored with remarkable stillness; even the children seemed to partake of it. The boats were ordered up the river to Bordentown, to burn all

⁴⁴ George Dilwyn, her brother-in-law.

the gondolas. Poor Rob't Sutton and his son passing my door, I stopped him, and asked where he was going; he said to join the soldiers to march to Bordentown, for the English were going to burn it, and on their return would do the same to Burlington. I begged him not to go, and said, perhaps he would be killed; he said he would go for all that—next day we heard he was killed. The report was, that some of the militia had fired on the English boats as they were rowing up the river; the firing was returned, and poor Sutton was the first, if not the only one killed; the last boat we saw was a small one, with only three men and the rowers in it; they were not soldiers: when they came opposite to the town wharf they stopped rowing and pulled off their hats and bowed to the people on the wharf. We heard afterwards it was our poor refugee, Dr. S. Burling, and J. Stansbury, who intended to have come on shore and paid us a visit, but so many people appearing on the wharf & street, they thought it safest to take to their oars and follow the fleet. One large vessel, with cannon, was in the fleet, and when they returned, were ordered to fire if they saw soldiers on the wharf, or about the streets. It seems the soldiers had notice of the time when they were to return, and they placed themselves along the shore, quite down to the ferry; it was First-day afternoon, and all the family but myself gone to meeting, and I was laying on the bed, and hearing a large gun, looked out of the window, and saw the large ship so close to our landing that I thought they were coming ashore; when behold! they fired two or three of their great guns, which shook the house, and went through the walls of our next door neighbor, who was a captain the rebel army. I still kept at the window, unapprehensive of danger, and seeing a man on the deck talking, and pointing to my house, one of them said, "In that house lives a woman to whom I am indebted for my life; she sheltered me when I was driven from my own house." &c. This I was afterwards told by a person who heard it; it is needless to add it was our poor refugee. I really think they have made an end of the gondolas for we see nothing like them. I hope never to see another. A rebel quarter-master, who had received some little civilities from my S. D. and myself, asked me one day if I did

not wish to see my friends in Philadelphia; I said it was the wish nearest my heart; he said he would accompany me as far as Frankfort, if I would promise to take no kind of provision with me, and that he would meet me at the same place, and conduct me home again. Such an offer was not to be slighted. I went to my friend A. O.,⁴⁵ and asked her if she would venture to bear me company. She joyfully agreed, and we borrowed a horse and chair, and early next morning set out. Our quarter-master being our guard, and good neighbor J[ames]. V[eree]. went with us to the ferry, to see us safe over. We got to A. James's place in the afternoon, and sent notice to our friends in town, and next morning my father [-in-law], brothers Moore and Wells, and my two sisters, with Dr. O. met us at Kensington, for they dared not go farther, that being the British lines. I believe there never was a more heart-tendering meeting. I had not seen my father and sisters for many months, and the dangers we were surrounded with, and the probability of this being the last time we might meet on earth, together with the reports of the great scarcity of provisions in town, and a thousand other things, all contributed to make it an awfully affecting meeting. My sisters went to A. J.'s place and dined with me. A. O. stayed with her husband till evening, when my dear sisters left me and returned to town. The parting was almost too much for me. I thought we were taking a last farewell of each other, but part we must; they went to town, and Nancy [A. O.] and myself retired soon to bed, expecting our quarter-master to call on us by daylight, but no news did we hear of him; but a heavy firing in the morning made us fearful we should not get safe home. About nine o'clock some stragglers stopped at our quarters, and said there had been a skirmish between the English and the Americans, and, more terrible still, that parties were ordered out to bring in all they should meet with; this intelligence made us conclude to venture homewards without our guide; we got into our chair and whipped and cut our dull horse at a strange rate. Several parties passed and repassed, and questioned us about whence we came, and where we

⁴⁵ Mrs. Anne Odell, wife of Dr. Odell, "our refugee," who was in Philadelphia at this time.

were going—they said if we were going to Burlington, we should be stopped at the ferry and taken to Washington's head-quarters, for there was a report that women had been into town and brought out goods. We kept our minds pretty calm, hoping that if we got safe to the ferry, as we were so well known, we should meet no more dangers, and we got along well till we got to the hill beyond the Red Lion, which being very bad, and we still pressing our poor horse to make more haste, he made one violent exertion to reach the top of the hill, when to our utter dismay the swingletree broke, and the chair began to roll down the hill. We both jumped out at the same instant; Nancy held the horse while I rolled a stone behind the wheel, and there we stood afraid to stir from the horse, and thinking we should be obliged to leave the chair and lead the horse home. At last we ventured to the door of a small house hard by; a man came out and with the help of Nancy's ribbons and my garters fixed us off, and we once again mounted the chair, and walked the horse till we came near the Bristol road, where we heard the ferry was guarded, and none suffered to cross. However, we kept on, and at length reached the ferry, where, instead of armed men, we could hardly find one man to put us over. At last we got over, and now being on our own shore, we began like people just escaped from shipwreck, to review the dangers past, and congratulate ourselves on our arrival in a safe port; and I hope not without a sincere, though silent acknowledgment of the good hand that had vouchsafed to bring us so far on our way to our lonely habitations. When we arrived at my door, my beloved S. D. had the neighbors and children all sitting with her; her tender anxious mind filled with apprehensions for our safety. As we had stayed a day longer than we had intended, it was conjectured by our wise neighbor, J. V.,⁴⁶ that some terrible thing had happened; nothing less than that the horse, which was his, had been seized, and we kept in Philadelphia. Rd. Smith, who lent the chair, was equally alarmed for the fate of his carriage; and S. H.,⁴⁷ who loudly exclaimed against the expedition, said we were certainly carried to

⁴⁶ James Verree.

⁴⁷ S. H.: possibly Sarah Helm.

head-quarters; and as Nancy's husband was in the British pay, it would go hard with her for his sake; but, behold; all their wise conjectures proved like the croaking of the raven, an ill-omened bird that brings good tidings to none, for in the midst of it all we appeared before them in our proper persons, before our arrival was announced. Some cried out, where's the horse? where's the chair? where have you been? &c. We gayly told them all was safe, then sat down to a good dish of tea, and rehearsed all we had seen, heard, and suffered; when we were seriously advised never to engage again in such a perilous undertaking; and we as seriously assured them that if we did, we would look out for a stronger horse and chair, and be our own guide, for that our late expedition so far from being a discouragement, was like a whet to a hungry man, which gave him a better appetite for his dinner.

[The manuscript ends here: whether there was any more is not known.—EDITOR.]

PAPUNAHUNG, THE INDIAN CHIEF.

There are certain characters among the Indians of the colonial period who are deserving of greater notice than they have yet received at the hands of the historian. Shikellamy and Teedyuscung in Pennsylvania, and Philip and Massasoit in Rhode Island, with others in the south and west are more or less known, but there is one Indian especially associated with Philadelphia Quakers and with John Woolman, who deserves more attention than he has received in one or two very inadequate pamphlets.

This Sachem is known as Papoonahal or Papunahung—the name has several curious variations. He was a native Delaware Indian of the Minsi tribe, born about 1705. Bishop de Schweinitz places him prominently among the savage preachers, somewhat like their “medicine men,” who attempted to counteract the influence of the two devoted Moravian missionaries, whose efforts in Pennsylvania were only second in point of time and heroism to those of the early Jesuit Fathers on the borders of Canada and

the Great Lakes. These savages defied all efforts to introduce civilized ways or ideas of peace. They wrought upon the fierce and warlike nature of the red man, and for a period of thirty years or more aided the official "medicine men" or conjurors to keep open the war-path.

About the year 1745 David Zeisberger, a Moravian missionary, whose life has been admirably written by the late Bishop de Schweinitz, was sent by the Moravian church at Bethlehem—Count Zinzendorf's settlement, then but three years old—to the village on the Susquehanna of which Papunahung was chief. This was M'hwikilusing or Wyalusing, meaning "The Place of the Hoary Veteran." The name was a tribute to its age, since the colonial records state that it was even then a trading point, settled by the Indians before the memory of man. Its old name is still retained. The first white man to visit the spot was probably Conrad Weiser, the famous Indian Commissioner of the colony, who was there in 1737. He was followed in 1743 by our own John Bartram, who, with the Commissioner and Indian guides, accompanied the explorer, Lewis Evans, over the trail. They were said to be the first to make the journey on horseback. Two years later, David Zeisberger with Gottlieb (afterward Bishop) Spangenberg, and Weiser and Indian guides, passed through Wyalusing on their way to the Genessee country, hoping to obtain from the Iroquois permission for their Indian converts to settle in the Wyoming region. Some of the Indian villages on this journey were partly Christianized by these devoted men, and Papunahung was among the converts. But the powerful Iroquois soon after exterminated the weaker tribes, and Wyalusing for several years lay in ruins.

In 1752, Papunahung, who had lived through these troubles at the Indian village of Nain with other converts of the Moravians, brought his own and a few other families and rebuilt Wyalusing. Their industry was soon rewarded by great prosperity, the rich lands of the valley producing food almost without cultivation. He had for his right-hand man, Job Chillaway, an Indian from Little Egg Harbor, who was an expert trader, and whose fluent English made him much in demand as interpreter. In May, 1760,

came the Moravian missionary, Christian Frederic Post; the text of the sermon which he preached to Papunahung and his people is given in the Pennsylvania Archives—*i.e.*, Luke II, 8-11.¹ In the next two years, Zeisberger, who had been placed in charge of these Indians, spent a good deal of time near Wyalusing, while Papunahung acted as his assistant in the long intervals when they were left much to themselves. He would appear during this time to have been on probation.

Much trading went on between these friendly Indians and Philadelphia, and Papunahung was usually with the traders. Such a visit, when he met the Friends in 1760, is described in a rare little pamphlet published in London in 1761.² A year later, a more important visit was made, and a meeting held in the house of Anthony Benezet, in Philadelphia, when John Woolman, who was present, took ample notes of the remarks of Papunahung. These notes are still preserved³ and form the substance of the statements made by Proud, in his *History of Pennsylvania*.

In spring of 1763, John Woolman met one of these trading parties in Philadelphia, and having for some time desired to visit them in their own settlement, he decided to accompany the Indians home, and accordingly obtained a certificate from his meeting for the purpose. He had long known Papunahung; his account of the journey to the Susquehanna country is given in his *Journal* and need not here be repeated. It is, however, well to clear up the situation, from the light which Bishop de Schweinitz,

¹ Post became so thoroughly identified with the Indians as to marry in succession two Indian wives! Eventually, he came under the influence of the Episcopalians, and before he died in 1784, joined that church. His death occurred in Germantown and he was buried in the graveyard at that place, Bishop White preaching his funeral sermon.

² "Account of a Visit lately made to the People called Quakers in Philadelphia, by Papoonahoal, An Indian Chief, and several other Indians, chiefly of the Minisink Tribe, with the Substance of their Conferences on that Occasion. London. S. Clark. Bread St. 1761." A copy is in the Library of Haverford College, Pa.

³ They are in the Pemberton Collection, Hist. Soc. of Penna. A note by Sarah Woolman makes it evident that they were placed at Proud's disposal. Ms. copies, with account of the visit in 1760, are to be found in the Boston Public Library, and at Westtown School.

and other historians as well as the records of the Moravian church, cast upon this incident.

The Moravian mentioned by Woolman was David Zeisberger, who was accomplished in various Indian dialects, and who translated into their own language for the Indians, the German hymns of the Moravian church.⁴ We have no record of any Quaker who ever went to the pains of mastering the Indian's own tongue, and therefore reaching them with the power and conviction which has made the work of the Moravians in the colonial period so impressive. Zeisberger had been in Wyalusing on May 23, and had found the Indians in council, determined to embrace the tenets of the first Christian missionary who came to them. Four days later he was hastening back to Bethlehem, with his report. Possibly the mother-church had learned through Anthony Benezet,⁵ or some one else in close touch with both parties, that the Quaker visit impended, for Brother Zeisberger was promptly despatched back again with his Christian guide, Nathaniel, fully authorized to receive into the church all converts who were genuinely sincere. Zeisberger set out June 10th, overtaking and passing John Woolman and his companion, Benjamin Parvin, who arrived at Wyalusing the day after. The labors of the two were harmonious. Woolman says, "Although Papunahung had before agreed to receive the Moravian and to join with them, he appeared kind and loving to us." On the 21st the Indians decided in favor of the Moravian faith, when Woolman left, praying for the success of his companion. Five days later the baptisms took place, and Papunahung received the name of *John*, being thereafter known as John Papunahung, or "Munsey John." Bishop de Schweinitz says, "God overruled the man's discourses to the awakening of his tribe." Papunahung had a wife, Ann Joanna, and a daughter. He was made a missionary assistant, and labored faithfully for the church until his death, which occurred at Schönbrunnen, May 15th, 1775, at the age of seventy.

⁴ A copy of this interesting little book is in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

⁵ Anthony Benezet's sister had married Thomas Bartow, a minister of the Moravian church, at that time settled at Bethlehem as preacher.

There is much reference to the Indians, Teedyuscung and Papunahung, in the minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings, Philadelphia, as well as in the Archives of Pennsylvania. Tract no. 50, entitled "John Papunahung the Converted Indian" published at 304 Arch Street by the Tract Association, gives no facts, and leaves the impression that the savage was a Quaker convert. In reality, Papunahung's conversion was one of the first fruits of the labors of David Zeisberger. The tract should be recalled or rewritten for it does not give a true impression of the facts.

AMELIA M. GUMMERE.

A VISIT TO FRIENDS IN CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA, 1819.

INTRODUCTION.

The following paper is a portion of the original private journal of Ellis Yarnall (1757-1847), one of a committee sent by the Meeting for Sufferings of Philadelphia to investigate the conditions of the remnant of Friends in Charleston, South Carolina. One sheet of the journal is lost, and the journal breaks off abruptly. The committee made a brief report, not long after their return, to a Meeting held 1 month 20, 1820, and a detailed report which closely agrees with the journal, 3d month 17, 1820. Here the matter seems to have rested. The standing committee on the Charleston matter reported 4 month 12, 1822, and again 4 month 15, 1825, when it was stated only two members attended the meeting. Another report, similar in character, was made 4 month 1826.

There has been much misconception in regard to the Charleston property, and the "Charleston Fund." It is quite clear from the records that had not Philadelphia Friends stepped into the breach, and advanced and expended considerable sums of money, the whole property would have lapsed to the State. In the final adjustment it was proper that the Meeting which had shouldered the responsibility, should have the disposition of the fund. As a matter of fact Charleston Meeting appears to have been an inde-

pendent meeting during the greater part of its existence. Its connection with North Carolina Yearly Meeting was little more than formal at any time.

The history of Charleston Meeting is not a cheerful one, and it has never been recounted in full in print.

A Bibliography is given at the end of the Journal.

EDITOR.

THE JOURNAL.

John Cook, Israel W. Morris and myself [Ellis Yarnall] being under appointment by the Meeting for Sufferings¹ to pay a visit to those who profess with Friends and reside in the City of Charleston, South Carolina, in order to ascertain the state of the Meeting that has been held there for many years and not under the regular care of any Meeting for Discipline, the situation of the members who compose it, and circumstances relative to the tenure of the property belonging to the Society in that place, on the 7th of 11th month 1819, we went down to New Castle in the steamboat, having previously engaged our passage on board of the ship *Pennsylvania*, Captain William Bunce. On board of which [this ship] we embarked off New Castle [the] 9th, but did not get to sea till the 13th on account of head winds. We found a large number of passengers chiefly southern people who had spent the summer to the northward, and were returning home. To lay at anchor day after day with such a crowd was some tryal of our patience. We, however, went on shore at Ready [Reedy] Island, took a walk of several miles through the country which, with the town of Port Penn, [Delaware] exhibited evident marks of neglected agriculture and decayed trade. The passengers on board were politely attentive to us, but their habits and deportment, so different from what we had been accustomed, required a watchful care on our part to maintain our

¹ Meeting for Sufferings mo. 17, 1819. John Cook, Israel W. Morris, and Ellis Yarnall were appointed to "investigate conditions, take charge of deeds, papers, etc., and place them and the Estate in such hands as may be most likely to promote a due execution of the Trust devolved on this Meeting." *Ms. Records*.

religious testimonies without giving occasion of offence. We were particularly tryed with the free use they made of brandy at the table, and believed it right to set an example of temperance in confining our drink very much to water.

The wind coming fair on 7th day morning, 13th, we weighed anchor and with a stiff breeze ran down the bay and before 12 o'clock was at sea with a fine wind, which the Captain fondly hoped would waft us to Charleston in three days. But how frequently does this fickle element disappoint the expectation of those who are necessarily dependent on it. Before the next morning it changed and came nearly from the quarter to which we were bound and continued so for about two days. Yet by the skill of our commander we were able to make some advance on our course. Our curiosity was gratified with appearance of several large shoals of porpoises.

20th, 7 o'clock. Arrived at Charleston; boarded at Eliz^a. Beauford.

21, 10 o'clock went to Meeting house situated in King Street, east side, near to Queen St., is a small frame building raised and supported on brick pillars 2 or 3 feet above the surface of the ground. Piazza on the south side and front. Contains a raised seat for ministers and bench under it, and 10 benches which hold 5 or 6 persons each; will seat 60 or 70 persons. Present D[aniel]. Latham, J[ohn]. K[irk]., Wm. Wadsworth, Joshua Nevil, J. Coates, 2 of D. L.'s daughters, B. Swift, a stranger, member of Society from Sandwich, Massachusetts, and ourselves, in all 11. Dined at D. Latham's. His wife an elderly woman, and daughters, gay, not members. He is a distiller. 3 o'clock, to Meeting. D. L., J. K., B. Swift, J. Coates, W. W., C. West, L. and E. Clemment, 11. Tea at C. W.

22d, 2d day. Obtained from John Kirk the Minute Book and title papers. First minute by an introduction by Wm. Piggot evincing a zeal for the cause of truth, by which it appears that in the early settlement of this country, South Carolina, "the lord had a tender people who were by the world in scorn called Quakers, but by reason of some going out of the country, the death of most of the ancients together with the unfaithfulness of many

of their offspring, the number of those who walked in the Law of the Lord became very small, so that by the best account it appears that for some considerable time there was no meeting for worship, and for 20 years and upwards no settled meeting for business. Yet after a time the Lord was pleased to raise up a remnant who became concerned to meet together and wait upon Him, who were also visited at times by several of the Lord's messenger's from other parts. Yet their meeting continued low and poor; and even after this, had liked to have fallen again in the year 1716 which poverty of this meeting I was witness to."

By the first Minute in 1718 the meeting house and lot was placed under the care of Thomas Kimberley. From this time till about 1726 a concern appears to have been manifested for the good order of Society meetings [?] being regularly held and Epistolary correspondence with London and Philadelphia Yearly Meetings. But from this time a slackness appears, the Minutes not regular; from 1737 to 1750 no Minute appears. Minutes under the title of Meetings for Conference were occasionally held. 1753, on the visit of Mary Peisley and Catharine Payton, agreed a Week Day Meeting [be] resumed; and after noting the visit of Samuel Fothergill and Israel Pemberton in 1755, we find no further Minutes except a memorandum, 12 of 6 month, 1784, during the religious visit of A. Lancaster, a proposition being made to hold a meeting on 4th day; agreed to without opposition, and has been since kept up. 23rd, 3d day. Meeting with John Kirk and D. Latham on account of differences [between them]. Only Friends known to be Friends, met at 9 o'clock.

4th day. Attended meeting. D[aniel]. Latham and John Kirk all that attended except ourselves. John Kirk said it often occurred that no others attended and sometimes he sat quite alone. Further conversation with D. L. also on account of his business of distilling. J. Hopkins and J. Coates called on us. I observed that we had not their company at Meeting. J. C. mentioned the impracticability of his attending on 4th days; J. H. stated he had not attended meetings for a long time. Said a certificate had been forwarded to Bush River [Monthly Meeting, S. C.], many years ago, but he forfeited his right by holding slaves.

Went to dine with J. K. who was busily engaged in preparing papers for a captain to sail in the morning. D. L. came in; J. K. asked him to sit down but not very cordially. D. L. said he came in order to try to settle with J. K., who declined attending to it that afternoon on account of his engagements above stated; appointed to meet at our lodging to-morrow morning. D. L. came home with us. Handed a number of Friends' books and tracts. Went to see Joshua Nevil who has resided here a number of years; had a birthright in Society in Mountmellick in Ireland, left there in his 14th year, has been married but not disowned; his wife and family of the Methodists; his son Henry, a young man, we were interested in; appeared to be thoughtful person. After taking tea with them, Joshua and Henry came home with us, to whom we handed books.

5th day morning J. K. and D. L. called at our lodging, where, after a time of silence D. L. being invited, to, stated what he had in prospect as a means of effecting a reconciliatory [*sic*] which was accepted by J. K. and they mutually agreed to that all animosity should cease and that no old or former transactions should be called up on either side to disturb their future harmony.

Proceeded to make inquiry respecting their meeting and situation of the persons who attend it, and their respective rights as to membership.

John Kirk, his right at Bush River Monthly Meeting.

Daniel Latham, at Phil[adelphia] Meeting.

J. Hopkins, his right at Bush River. Does not consider himself entitled to membership, as he holds slaves; has not been disowned, but makes no profession and seldom, if ever, attends meeting.

J. Coates, married out, but not disowned; his right in Philadelphia. Seldom attends.

Joshua Nevil, never been disowned; his right of membership in Ireland. Attends meeting mostly on First days.

William Wadsworth attends on First day morning and occasionally in the afternoon; a single man, not a member.

William Turpin, when in Charleston sometimes attends. Not a member.

Elizabeth and Lydia Clemment, attend on First day morning; members of Northern District Meeting [Philadelphia].

Charles [L.] West, and wife sometimes attend First day morning. Not members.

Daniel Latham's wife and two daughters sometimes attend; not members.

John Kirk informed us that he had divers times thought and wished it to engage the serious attention of Friends, whether in the state of Friends here, the continuing a Meeting was to the reputation of Society. Was informed that was a subject would be likely to engage the attention of the Yearly Meeting, and we were desirous of so dipping into the state of Society here as would enable us to make correct report for them to act upon.

After J. K. had withdrawn, had an opportunity of inquiring of Daniel Latham respecting some black persons in his family said to be slaves. D. L. acknowledged they were slaves held by his wife, a mother and 4 children, the latter born in his house; the former had been given to his wife by her brother-in-law. I dined at Charles West's. In the evening took tea with Thomas Frazer's family; his wife, daughter Anna, and himself were passengers with us.

[Here, a page or sheet of the manuscript is lost. It probably related to the title etc. of the Meeting House and Lot. The following extract from an account given in *The Friend* (Philadelphia) (vol. 53: 289) will supply connection.]

"After having made use of this lot of ground [on King street near Queen street] for a considerable number of years without any regular title or fee in it, Friends in London applied to the King in Council to have the property duly invested; in consequence of which an order from King George the Second was issued to Robert Johnson, Governor of South Carolina, directing him to make a grant of the said lot of ground to Thomas Kimberly. . . . The Governor accordingly in the year 1731 grants the same under the seal of the Province to the said Friend . . . and calls it by the name it had long been known by, "*the Quakers' Lot*"; and with the express understanding and in the special trust and confidence, that a meeting house should be erected

thereon for the Society of Friends in Charleston, and the ground to be forever reserved for this special and declared purpose."² [This property was held by] Thomas Kimberly and from him regularly handed down by divers conveyances in trust to the present time, being the same lot on which the Meeting House stands, and back part let to Jacob Gass, being together 63½ feet front on King street, and in depth eastward 246 feet 6 inches on the north line, 88 feet 4 inches on the south line, and 256 feet 6 inches on the west line to King street, by Patent, containing one rood and 29 perches, besides which there was a small nook at the south east corner which J. K. sold by directions of the Carolina trustees, but for which we cannot find there was any title further than being in possession of Friends. The money, J. K. says he laid out in repairing Meeting House etc., 1803, but cannot give particulars as his books and papers have been destroyed by fire. Said to be sold for £30 per receipt dated 13th of 6 month 1801, a copy of which J. K. procured for us and showed to us; in confirmation of which, D. L. states that two or three Friends of the Carolina Trustees being in Charlestown consulted with J. K., T. Sykes and himself who all united in judgment that the lot should be sold, Friends having no other title to it but possession, and it was of no use to Friends, and that it was by their direction J. K. disposed of it. D. L. further states that the lot on the south side of the Meeting House lot as well as that on which D. Hall resides, both butting on the small nook alluded to above, were in possession of the present owners and had substantial brick buildings on them which appeared to have been built many years before he came here to reside in 1773, and that he had never heard of Friends possessing any other property than that above stated.

² The ground was so held, and by a combination of circumstances the Meeting of Sufferings of Philadelphia became Trustees. As all Friends had disappeared from Charleston without likelihood of any successors, the Meeting for Sufferings, acting under legal advice, petitioned the Legislature of South Carolina in 1876 to sell the same. This was granted with the proviso that the principal should be held and the income applied "for building, furnishing or repairing meeting-houses and their appurtenances, belonging to the Society of Friends, wherever the same may be located in the United States; or for any other similar use or uses."

I went in the morning to see Mary Stephens. In the afternoon rode out to Lucas's Rice Mill to view the several operations necessary for removing the husk and rendering fit for market. Returned in the evening to tea at Joseph Yeates, whose carriage Elizabeth, his wife, had sent to carry us to the rice mill on accidentally hearing of our intention of going, with a particular request to take tea with her where were a considerable collection of her friends.

3rd day morning. Ship prevented sailing by head winds. Called on several of the citizens who had shown attention to us. Left some books explanatory of our religious principles with some sober persons who appeared desirous of having them. I called on M. Stephens, and we all paid a visit to S. Grimké,³ a sober young woman who had accompanied her father, in 6th month last, to Philadelphia, and to Long Branch on account of his health. At the latter place he died. After his death she spent a considerable time in Burlington, where she became acquainted with several Friends to whom she seemed attached. She was a passenger with us in the ship *Pennsylvania* from Philadelphia to Charleston, and manifested a very open and friendly

³ Sarah M. Grimké (1792-1873), the elder of the two Grimké sisters who filled so large a place in the early Anti-Slavery days. They were the daughters of J. F. Grimké of Charleston, who was a large slaveholder. Soon after his death his daughters set free the slaves they had inherited. They came to reside in the north. Both sisters joined Friends, but their connection with the body was marked by much misunderstanding on both sides, and on the marriage of the younger "out of meeting," both were disowned (1838). Neither joined any other denomination.

The reference to this voyage in the biography of the sisters Grimké is as follows: "On the vessel which carried her from Philadelphia to Charleston, after her father's death, was a party of Friends; and in the seven days which it then required to make the voyage, an intimacy sprang up which influenced her whole after-life. From one of them (Israel W. Morris) she had accepted a copy of Woolman's works,—evidence that there must have been religious discussions between them." C. H. Birney, "Sarah and Angelina Grimké, a Biography." Boston, 1885, p. 29. For the close connection with the Morris family resort must be had to subsequent pages of this rather one-sided volume.

See also for brief notice, not quite accurate as to details, "Journal of Friends' Historical Society," London, 1917, vii, pp. 79, 80.

disposition towards us. We furnished her with some books relative to our religious principles which appeared very acceptable. In the evening took tea at Thomas Stephens, at the particular request of his wife. We spent the evening in social conversation with a number of citizens who came in, among whom was Elizabeth Yeates whose unaffected kindness and attention to us since we first met her at C. Tunis's has left a pleasing remembrance of her on our minds. The conversation this evening as well as at divers other times, turned upon the subject of slavery, and the usual mode of treating slaves, though I believe the subject was never introduced by us, but it was very evident that many serious people, especially among the females, consider the subject as a very interesting one and are very uneasy under it. E. Yeates, I think, always introduced it when in our company, her husband being a man of considerable property, a cooper by trade, she said owned 30 slaves, nearly all of whom he employed in his business. She seemed very desirous that way might open in his mind to manumit them. I have no doubt she felt, as she expressed it, to be her duty to treat them kindly; often adverted to the cruelty exercised on their persons by some of their masters, who, for uttering an expression, which they consider impertinence, would send them to the House of Correction, have them severely flogged and confined in dungeon with little or no food during their pleasure, with other instances of cruelty shocking to humanity. Yet we had reason to believe that many of these poor people were tenderly used and their situation rendered comfortable.

[End of manuscript.]

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Note. The above Mss. are in possession of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, 304 Arch St., Philadelphia.

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AN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY FRENCHMAN ON AMERICAN QUAKERISM IN PENNSYLVANIA.

[Moreau de Saint-Méry (1750-1819) was a distinguished Frenchman who was in exile in the United States, 1793-1798. He was born on the island of Martinique, went to France, and became prominent in the early days of the Revolution. He was a moderate reformer, opposed to violent methods, and thereby incurred the enmity of Robespierre and was forced to fly with his family to America. He lived nearly four years in Philadelphia, having a book-shop and printing establishment first at the corner of Front and Walnut streets and then at the corner of Front and Callowhill. His *Voyage aux Etats-Unis de l'Amérique, 1793-1798*¹ is the record of his experiences and observations during his stay in America. Strange to say, though known to some scholars and historians, this volume lay in manuscript in Paris until 1903, when, through the perseverance of Professor S. L. Mims of Yale, it was transcribed, and then published by the Yale University Press. It has never been translated into English. The following extracts are, with one exception, all his references to Friends. The Quakers were, to him, apparently, incomprehensible, and it is quite evident that he did not come into close contact with the principal Friends of the day. What he says would seem to be from purely exterior observation and from hearsay. His remarks are nevertheless interesting as giving the impressions of an outsider and a foreigner.—EDITOR.]

Burlington and Bristol, Pennsylvania.

Opposite Bristol, but on the other bank (of the Delaware River) is Burlington, a town of Jersey, where there are about 200 dwellings (situated in part on an island where are 160) and an academy or place for education. The island includes 1000 whites and 100 slaves. The Quakers form the most numerous

¹ *Voyage aux États-Unis de L'Amérique, 1793-1798*, by Moreau De Saint-Méry, edited with an Introduction and Notes by Stewart L. Mims, Assistant Professor of History in Yale College. New Haven, Yale University Press, MCMXIII, pp. xxxvi, 440.

part of the population of Bristol, and it is this same circumstance to which is attributed the atmosphere of sadness [*tristesse*] which prevails in the place. Pp. 110, 111.

Philadelphia.

The Quakers, very numerous in Philadelphia, are nevertheless diminishing, because many of their children leave this communion. Moreover, one sees the coquetry of the young Quakeresses, who know how to combine their affected simplicity with very worldly tastes, which this sect would wholly eradicate.

It is to the influence and numbers of the Quakers at Philadelphia that one would attribute the dull customs of the city, where there is also less society than elsewhere. P. 310.

The protection which the Quakers profess to accord them [the negroes] is, as with all the acts of that sect, marked with the stamp of an arrogant humility. It is a patronage which seeks a numerous *clientèle* for its own profit. P. 324.

Delaware.

(Referring to a law forbidding any slave to be brought into the State of Delaware for sale within the State.) This law not having been retroactive, in favor of those who were already slaves, any manumission is a result of the zeal of the Quakers, and all those who do not wish to follow this movement have not been compelled to. P. 327.

Ministry among the Quakers.

It is necessary to recall what one knows, that the Quakers do not have a trained ministry, and that any one, whatever may be the sex, who believes himself inspired by the Spirit, takes the liberty and has also the sacred right of abusing it. P. 364.

Referring to the planting of trees in the cemeteries of Philadelphia.

The (cemetery) of the Quakers at the S. W. corner of Mulberry [now Arch] street and 4th street North has been the first

example and that of the Irish Catholics of the church of St. Mary which lies between 4th and 5th streets South, is the second. [Note of 1802.] P. 371.

Friends' Almshouse.

There is an almshouse of the Quakers on Walnut street between 3rd and 4th street. The Quakers put it under the care of a committee. This place is divided into apartments or chambers for the Quakers fallen into poverty. It has a large garden which furnishes the city with medicinal plants. P. 383.

BOOKS OF INTEREST TO FRIENDS.

The Story of George Fox. By Rufus M. Jones. . . . New York, The Macmillan Company, 1919. 5 × 7½ in. Pp. xii, 169. \$1.25.

The author of this book having already tried his hand with "St. Paul, the Hero," has in this volume attempted a still harder work. That he has been as successful as he has been is greatly to his credit. The narrative is lively and interesting to adults, but how it will appeal to the youth can only be tested by experiment. To set forth Fox's spiritual teaching and experiences in a way to reach immature minds is indeed difficult, and the author has rightly not attempted a dissertation on the "inward light," but set it forth incidentally, and dwelt most on Fox's unflinching following of duty, no matter what might be the consequences. This appeals to very young minds, and the presentation, as it is exhibited in Fox's life, cannot help being effective.

A few slips may be noted: the great Puritan statesman is better known as Pym rather than *Pim* (page 12); Firbank Chapel is not at Preston Patrick (page 40), but about four miles from Sedbergh. It would have been well to cite the case of the children in Bristol keeping up the meeting as well as that at Reading (page 108), mentioning in each case the persecution endured.

The Last of the Mayflower. By Rendel Harris. Manchester, at the University Press. Longmans, London, New York, etc. 1920. 6 × 9½ in. Pp. vi, 122.

Last year Rendel Harris indulged in fancy and imagination regarding the "Mayflower" in his "Return of the Mayflower, An Interlude"; this year he gives a careful historical study of the life of this famous ship. This study is marked by the same keen scent for facts exhibited in all his work, and the same able marshalling of the evidence collected. His con-

clusion only can be stated. It is that she was a whaler almost continually both before and after his historic voyage. During the period 1626-1640 she made two voyages (1629-1630) carrying Puritans to Massachusetts Bay; later she was in the New England and London trade via the West Indies. In 1653 she carried goods to Boston for "John Eliot, the apostle of the Red Indians and his disciples." This fact gives the opportunity for the introduction of three interesting letters of John Eliot, and a Bill of Lading of the "Mayflower," 1653. The "Mayflower" was in Boston, 1654, but no trace of her can be found after that year. The old ship must have given out at last. "Most likely she was broken up in Boston, or perhaps in the Thames on her last voyage to London."

An Appendix contains another letter of John Eliot (1653), and several letters of the Hanmer family, early Nonconformists of Barnstaple (1659-1691).

The author is to be congratulated on clearing up many questions regarding the famous ship.

The Christian Ideal, a Study of the Meaning of Christianity. By William E. Wilson, B.D. . . . London, The Swarthmore Press [1919]. *Christian Revolution Series*, No. VI. 5 × 7½ in. Pp. 255. 5s. net.

The author of this volume, though a descendant of the old Quaker families of Wilson and Braithwaite of Kendal, is not a birthright member, but one by conviction.

The book is a twentieth century view of the subject, as may be inferred from its being one of the "Christian Revolution Series." It is deeply reverent, and closely in accord with Quaker ideals, though nothing in the volume refers to Friends or their principles by name. Some readers may think on the subject of Redemption the author's view is "too modern," but no one can deny that there is food for close thought in his presentation.

The great aim before the Christian is Life; and the fullest life, in the author's words, may be thus defined: "A constantly developing life, always enlarging its power and scope by harmonious co-operation, in a society organically one, under the completest control of God. This is individual life, but it is also communal life." Like the theme in a musical fugue, this idea runs through the whole book.

Under the headings, "Punishment," "Justice," "Judgment of Others," "Domination and Service," "Toleration and Truth," "Self-sacrifice and Vocation," and others, he analyzes current and popular views, and points out where they fail in reaching the Christian Ideal, if indeed they are not sometimes in direct opposition to it.

The author's arguments and statements are clear and often very forcible. To those who feel their ideas need clarifying, and to many who have felt the lack of sustaining arguments, this book is likely to be very helpful.

Short as the volume is, it might have been condensed to advantage.

For instance, a "Summary" is repeated three times, nearly word for word, within six pages (pp. 65-71). The impression is that the chapters were given to a class and then combined into a book. This is a minor fault. The book can be commended as a sincere, clear, and forcible presentation of old truths in modern expression.

The Inward Light, A Drama in Four Acts. By Allen Davis and Anna R. Stratton. . . . New York, Alfred A. Knopf. 5 × 7½ in. Pp. 135.

This is an unusual book. A prose drama in which all the characters are Friends except two, who for the sake of the plot are of necessity non-members. The work is well thought out and is on a high, reverent level, and reflects great credit on the authors, who are unknown to the reviewer. The motif of the play is to represent human action as influenced and directed by the "inward light" or illumination which a man may possess. The scene is laid in Pennsylvania, just before and just after the opening of the Civil War, 1861. That about which the action revolves is the question whether, under any circumstances, war is allowable to the Quaker. There is the "Conscientious Objector," in this case a man well on in middle life, and the young men and the young women, who, though hating war, feel, also conscientiously, according to *their* "inward light," that under certain circumstances, war *is* justifiable. The authors express no opinion, leaving the reader to draw his own conclusions; but it would seem that, though admiring the unflinching attitude of the older man, they side with the younger. Nevertheless, it may mean that no more is intended than to set forth that difficult, even tragic, situation so sadly familiar to us in these days, when to many war seemed the only resource.

The real protagonist of the play is the older man, who holds to his convictions in the face of loss of business, most of his property, the enlistment and death of his only son, the disownment (for enlistment) of the fiancé of his daughter, and the daughter remaining faithful to her fiancé. On this character is lavished great care and with the undoubted success of arousing the sympathy of the reader. But to a *Friend* the portrayal shows many slips, mainly in the style of expression which savors more of the Puritan than of the Quaker. A wide personal acquaintance among the Friends of the period has failed to reveal, to memory, at least, any one like David Worthington in his "talk." The inference, moreover, is that he holds to his position because he is a *Friend* rather than because of personal conviction, which position is clearly that of the younger characters. There may have been such, but they were not typical any more than the younger characters were typical of their position.

The scenes when the tidings of the fall of Fort Sumter, and the reverse at the first battle of Bull Run are received, are in accord with the reviewer's personal experiences at the time.

It is a risky thing for outsiders, or those but slightly acquainted with

their practices, to describe the practices of Friends, and our authors do not escape pitfalls. There are comparatively few lapses in the case of the Pennsylvania Friendly methods of conversation, but no Friend would be likely in those days to write, "Seventh day (Saturday), April, 13, 1861," and other similar expressions (p. 16). If he said *Seventh day* he would also say *Fourth month* (April). But perhaps the greatest slip is the *Disownment* scene (pp. 117-130). This, though dramatic in conception and execution, is most improbable as described. In the first place, the Monthly Meeting is represented as being composed of men and women—a joint meeting—something which was practically unknown in 1861 among Friends everywhere, and could have taken place least of all in Pennsylvania. The question of disownment would have been wholly in the hands of men Friends, and the Women's Meeting would have been informed only of the conclusion reached. Again, the non-member is represented as being *present*—an unheard of thing *then*, and unusual at the present time. These remarks are simply to show that those who write about Quaker practices would be wise to have their manuscripts read by Friends really familiar with Quaker practices both past and present.

"*The Problem of the Juvenile Delinquent*," by Thomas H. Haines, M.D.; and, "*Some Phases of Prison Reforms*," by Albert H. Votaw. 1919.

The above is a pamphlet of 31 pages issued by the Representative Meeting of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. Dr. Haines, a Haverford graduate of 1896, is Professor of Nervous and Mental Diseases, State University of Ohio at Columbus. His tract is a strong plea, for wiser—one might truly say common-sense—methods in the treatment of delinquents, and especially for taking them in their youth before they become hardened or are developed into criminals.

The second tract by the well-known Secretary of the Pennsylvania Prison Society, is a plea for better, more sympathetic, and more scientific treatment of those confined in prison. He rightly says, "The main evil in all our jails is the prevalence of idleness and the consequent demoralization." In spirit Isaac Watts' old couplet "Satan finds some mischief still, For idle hands to do," is yet true both inside and outside of jails. It is a serious reflection that politics, the jealousy of laborers and of manufacturers, and public indifference are responsible for such conditions as exist in many, perhaps most, of our jails and prisons. Some recent events hold out a hope that the public is being aroused to the necessity of reform in prison management.

The Pennsbury Series of Modern Quaker Books. Edited by Isaac Sharpless. I. *Political Leaders of Provincial Pennsylvania*, by Isaac Sharpless, \$2.00; II. *George Fox, An Autobiography*, by Rufus M. Jones, \$2.00; III. *Man's Relation to God*, by John Wilhelm Rowntree, \$1.50; IV.

A History of the Friends in America, by Allen C. Thomas, \$1.50; *V. A Service of Love in War Time*, by Rufus M. Jones, \$2.00 (ready early in 1920). Philadelphia, Friends' Book Store, 302 Arch St. $5\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{4}$ in., cloth; uniform in size and binding.

This series of Quaker books has been conceived in a broad and liberal spirit, and in every way reflects credit on those who planned it and on the Editor who gave much time and thought to the selection, and whose discriminating judgment will be so greatly missed in the future. It is not needful to give any extended notice of these volumes. The first has recently been reviewed in the *Bulletin*; the second and third have already been some years before the public; the fourth, in this new and enlarged edition, is noticed elsewhere in this number; while the fifth is eagerly expected, some unavoidable delays having held back the issue. It is to be hoped that the death of the Editor will not cause much delay in issuing other volumes in the series as they seem to be called for. The series deserves a large sale.

The Orient in Bible Times. By Elihu Grant, Professor of Biblical Literature in Haverford College. 30 Illustrations. Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott Co. 1920. $5\frac{1}{2} \times 8$ in. Pp. ix, 336. \$2.50 net.

What does the average Bible reader know about the "nations around" the Hebrew lands in Bible times? We fear very little. This attractive volume aims to give such information in a non-technical and interesting way. It is a difficult piece of work well done. It was impossible not to give some historical details of monarchs bearing strange, and, to us, uncouth names, and also of kingdoms which are very shadowy to most of us, but this necessary part has been minimized as much as possible.

Isolated as the Hebrews were, and wished to be, they could not withdraw themselves from the world around them—indeed their geographical position forbade it. This volume throws great light on the extent of this intercourse, particularly so during the time of the great prophets of Israel, whose words cannot be rightly understood without some knowledge of this kind. If some of the Bible commentators had possessed even a little of it,

"It wad from many a blunder *freed them*
And foolish notion."

Chapters on Palestine today as illustrating the Bible, and on the political background for New Testament Times are very helpful.

The thirty illustrations are admirably reproduced from photographs. A Map at the end of the volume is probably as good as one covering so long a period of time could be. One showing the Hittite sphere of influence at its greatest extent would have been useful.

The Time of Her Life and Other Stories. By Maude Robinson. Illustrated by Percy Bigland. The Swarthmore Press, Ltd., London, 1919. 5¼ × 8 in. Pp. 261. 6s. net.

This attractive volume is a collection of twelve stories for young people, some of which appeared first in the *Friends Quarterly Examiner*. The subjects of all are Friendly and are usually founded on fact, often in connection with family history. They aim to illustrate periods of Quaker history from 1682 to 1875. The author has been remarkably successful in reproducing Quaker atmosphere in a simple and pleasant way. The four illustrations in color by our Friend Percy Bigland, though somewhat lacking in force, are a great addition. The artist, however, has not escaped the error of Benjamin West and others in making Penn look much older than he was at the time of the story—1682. At this date Penn was but thirty-eight and athletic for his age. He is represented as a rather portly man of about fifty or more. The volume is to be highly commended.

Christ in Christian Thought. Notes on the Development of the Doctrine of Christ's Person. By Edward Grubb, M.A. London, James Clarke & Co. 1920. 5 × 7¾ in. Pp. 161

This small volume is a revised edition of the author's "Bible Notes, vol. viii," 1912. It gives in brief but clear compass a résumé of various views regarding the person of Christ from the New Testament to the present time. The great lack of the book is the failure to supply any data regarding the Medieval, Reformation, or Post-Reformation periods. There is a good Index.

My Ancestors. By Norman Penney, F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S. Printed for Private Circulation by Headley Brothers, London, 1920. 6¾ × 8½ in. Pp. xvi, 236. Illustrations. 21s. Net.

This genealogical record is the result of many years of research in that attractive field, when once entered, of Genealogy. There are about forty families mentioned with more or less fulness. Among the individuals is one whose name is well-known in America though very few know who he was or where he came from—Jeremiah Dixon (1733-1779) who with Charles Mason (1730-1787) ran the celebrated Mason and Dixon line between Pennsylvania and Maryland, which was for so long the boundary between the slave and free States. There is an unusual number of sketches of persons, anecdotes and allusions of interest. The illustrations comprise portraits, views of houses, places (country and town), and various items of genealogical and historical interest. Our friend is to be congratulated on his success. The issue is restricted to 250 copies. The book can be had from the author, 130, Bishopsgate, London, E. C. 2.

A History of the Friends in America. By Allen C. Thomas, A.M., Assisted by Richard H. Thomas, M.D. Fifth Edition, Revised and Enlarged by Allen C. Thomas, A.M. Philadelphia, The John C. Winston Co. 1919. "The Pennsbury Series of Modern Quaker Books," Friends' Book Store, 304 Arch St. $5\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{4}$ in. Pp. 285. \$1.50.

All who are interested in the history of American Quakerism will be glad that the Pennsbury Series includes a revised and enlarged edition of this work. The original volume was prepared by Professor Allen C. Thomas, of Haverford College, assisted by his brother Richard H. Thomas, M.D., of Baltimore. For a quarter of a century it has been the standard short history of Friends in America. This new edition, brought down to the middle of 1919, gives it a considerable claim to further life and usefulness.

The main body of the text shows little change from the edition of 1905 save that some additional information and references to recent works on Quaker history have been added in the footnotes.

A new chapter has been written covering the years 1905-1919. This chapter opens with a view of the various groups of American Friends, with some reference to the developments within each group. This is followed by a more particular discussion of certain topics, such as The Pastoral System, Foreign Missions, Education, and the work among Indians and Negroes.

The most vital contribution to the new section is the part dealing with the Great War (pp. 245-253). Here is a succinct account of the struggle of Friends, in the face of misunderstanding and persecution, to exemplify anew "that life and power that takes away the occasion for all wars." The story of persecutions undergone and relief work undertaken is here told by one who can visualize these events against a complete background of Quaker history.

Throughout the account of recent years the work of Friends in Great Britain and Ireland is depicted, and its influence upon American Quakerism suggested.

The statistics, to 1918, are a welcome addition to the book. The new reference notes and supplementary bibliography will prove useful to those who wish to carry further the study of Quaker history in its various phases.

Finally it should be said that most readers scarcely realize the amount of painstaking research (often including many hours in verifying a single figure) that is required to produce such a condensed historical account, dealing with so many aspects of subject matter and such widely scattered groups of people. A bulky work seems more impressive at first sight. The smaller volume often represents quite as much research, and also a finer art in condensation and perspective. Friends and others are again placed under obligation to Professor Thomas for this further product of his industry and skill.

R. W. K.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

AN OPINION OF THE QUAKERS IN 1690.—“That Great and General Contempt they lie under, does not hinder me from thinking the Sect of the Quakers to be by far the most considerable of any that divide from us, in case the Quakerism that is generally held be the same with that which Mr. *Barclay* has delivered to the World for such; whom I take to be so great a Man, that I profess to you freely, I had rather engage against an Hundred *Bellarmins*, *Hardings*, or *Stapyltons*, than with one *Barclay*.”¹

John Norris (1657-1711), “Treatises Concerning the Divine Light,” Edition of 1724, p. 251.

“OLDEST INSURANCE COMPANY IN THE WORLD.”—George Vaux, Jr., of Philadelphia, writes to the Editor regarding a Note in the last number of the BULLETIN: “There is a statement on page 47 of the last number of the BULLETIN OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY which I think is untrue, and hence I call thy attention to it. The statement is made that the Philadelphia Contributionship, the old

‘Hand-in-Hand,’ is the oldest insurance company in the *world*. The Hand-in-Hand was modeled after the original Hand-in-Hand which was organized in London in 1696. The device of the American company was a copy of that used in England. This company was absorbed in 1898 by the Commercial Union Insurance Company of London, which still uses the old device of the hand-in-hand as its emblem.

“The next company in point of age was the Sun of London organized in 1710. I believe it is still in existence.

“The Philadelphia Contributionship was organized in 1752, and is the oldest insurance company in America. The next in age is, I believe, the Mutual Assurance Company founded in 1784. It is familiarly known as the ‘Green Tree,’ also from its badge or emblem.”

[Our correspondent is correct, we believe. It should be noted, however, that there were insurance companies in England before any named above. In 1681, sixteen insurers bound themselves, apparently somewhat after the manner of Lloyds, to insure buildings against loss by fire. Their badge or emblem was a Phoenix in the flames, and their men wore “liveries.” Another society called The Friendly Society was formed in 1684 for a similar purpose. This was a larger body than the other, and it seems to have been

¹ R. F. Bellarmine (1542-1621), an Italian Roman Catholic controversialist; Thomas Hardings (1516-1572), an English controversialist, first Protestant and then Roman Catholic; Thomas Stapylton (or Stapleton) (1535-1598), a Roman Catholic controversialist.

on the mutual basis. Its emblem was a Sheaf of Arrows. Both were in existence in 1707, but the writer has not been able to trace their history further.

(See G. Miede, "Present State of Britain," London, 1707, pp. 140, 141.) EDITOR.]

WHITTIER'S QUARTERS IN PHILADELPHIA.—"Oak Knoll, Danvers, Mass., 4 mo. 2. 1889. Dear Friend:—I am glad to know that my old quarters at 112 N. Seventh St. are so well occupied at the present time.

"I am free to say that I have a feeling of much unity with thy father and his companion in their proposed visit to Great Britain. I cannot but believe that it is in the truth, and that the way will be open for them as representatives of the principles and testimonies of our Early Friends, from which there have been sad departures on both sides of the Atlantic. I am truly thy friend, John G. Whittier."

The above was written to Hannah P. Morris in response to her request concerning the "House of Industry" for sewing women in Philadelphia. At a reception held there by its patrons in 1889, a visitor said that during Anti-Slavery Days John G. Whittier occupied a certain room, as it was then a dwelling. The building is not standing now. H. P. M.

Our friend, Rendel Harris, whose "Last of the Mayflower" is noticed elsewhere, is the Chairman of the National Committee on the Mayflower Tercentenary

Celebration of the sailing of the vessel.

Probably few readers of L. Violet Hodgkin's Swarthmore Lecture, 1919, have noticed the similarity of her title and that of an early Quaker tract by William Britten of Bristol, England (died 1669), "SILENT MEETING a Wonder to the World; yet practiced by the APOSTLES and owned by the PEOPLE OF GOD scornfully called Quakers. By William Britten. London: Printed by Robert Wilson . . . 1660." 4to.

This tract was reprinted in 1671, 1675, and in 1851. It did not escape the watchful eye of William C. Braithwaite, for he quotes it in his "Beginnings of Quakerism," pp. 509, 510.

L. Violet Hodgkin has a brief paper in the *Saturday Westminster Gazette*, February 14, 1920, on "Flowering Plants in Old London."

"The Prince of Brunswick . . . arrived at Somerset House last Friday evening; at Chelmsford a Quaker walked into the room, *did* pull off his hat and said, 'Friend, my religion forbids me to fight, but I honor those that fight well.' The Prince, though he does not speak English, understands it enough to be pleased with the compliment." Horace Walpole, Letter to Sir Horace Mann, Jan. 18, 1764.

This was Prince Charles William Ferdinand, Duke of Brunswick. He married, 1764, Augusta, daughter of George II. Their daughter was the unfortunate Car-

oline who married George, Prince of Wales, afterward George IV.

HORSES AT YEARLY MEETING IN THE OLDEN DAYS.—"At a Yearly Meeting for the Western Shore of Maryland and the adjacent parts of Pennsylvania and Virginia, held in Baltimore by adjournment from the 13th of the 10th Month to the 19th of the same inclusive, 1796. The Committee having charge of the Pasture lot for Baltimore Yearly Meeting, report, that upwards of 300 horses have been put into the lot, the time of holding this Yearly Meeting, & there is likely to be a competency of hay & pasture to last them to the end of the present week." From the Ms. Minutes.

QUAKER WIT. Alexander Fordyce (d. 1789) was a partner in the firm of Neale, James, Fordyce and Down, who failed disastrously June 10, 1772. They carried many houses down with them, and many lost heavily through them. Fordyce absconded.

While trying to bolster up the firm Fordyce went seeking a loan to an old Quaker, who said to him: "Friend Fordyce, I have known several persons ruined by *two dice*; but I will not be ruined by Four Dyce."

CHARLES H. AND RICHARD CARVER.—"Yesterday there was a Friend with the King, one that is John Grove's mate: he was the man that was mate to the master of the fisher-boat that carried the King away, when he went from Worcester fight; and only this Friend and the master knew of it

in the ship: and the Friend carried him [the King] ashore on his shoulders. The King knew him again, and was very friendly to him; and told him he remembered him, and of several things that was done in the ship at the same time. The Friend told him, the reason why he did not come forward all this while¹ was,—that he was satisfied in that he had peace and satisfaction in himself, that he did what he did to relieve a man in distress: and now he desired nothing of him, but that he would set Friends at liberty, who were great sufferers, or to that purpose; and told the King he had a *pay* [supposed to be a list] of 110 that were pre-munired, that had lain in prison about six years, and none can release them but him. So the King took the *pay*,—and said, there were many of them, and that they would be in again in a month's time; and that the country gentlemen complained to him, that they were so troubled with the Quakers. So he said, he would release him six; but the Friend thinks to go to him again, for he had not fully relieved? himself."²

¹ Charles H. fled in 1651 and this letter is dated 16th of 11th mo. 1669 (1st mo. 16th 1670, New Style).

² Extract from a letter of Ellis Hookes to Margaret Fell (afterwards Margaret Fox), 1669. "Letters of Early Friends," London, 1837, pp. 170, 171. See also, Introduction to Graveson's Life of Thomas Ellwood, London, 1906; and for *John Grove*, *ibid.*, 227.

A JOINT MEETING.—The two branches of Friends holding their meetings respectively on Schoolhouse Lane ("Hicksite") and Coulter Street (Orthodox) came together in a joint meeting for worship in the Counter Street Meeting House on First-day evening First month 18th 1920. The meeting was well attended by Friends of both branches. The prevailing feeling at the close of the meeting seemed to be that it had been good to meet together, and the hope was expressed many times that such meetings might be frequently held. A similar meeting was expected to be held in the Schoolhouse Lane Meeting House at a later date.

"QUAKERS SWIM AGAINST THE STREAM."—Mr. Sylvanus Bevan, a Quaker and a friend of Mr. Mat-

thew Green, was mentioning at Batson's coffee-house, that, while he was bathing in the river, a waterman saluted him with the usual insult of the lower class of people, by calling out "A Quaker, a Quaker, quirl!" (twirl or twist). He at the same time expressed his wonder how his profession could be known while he was without his cloathes. Green immediately replied that the waterman might discover him by his swimming against the stream.¹

¹ Matthew Green (1697-1737) was an English poet who had quite a reputation in 18th century. His chief work was a semi-satiric poem, "The Spleen." He also wrote some "Verses on Reading Barclay's Apology." See "Chalmers' British Poets," XV. 159.

CORRECTION.

In the paper in the last number of the BULLETIN (11th month, 1919), on "Old Milestones about Philadelphia," the author wishes to make the following corrections:

"The boundary stones between Delaware and Maryland are essentially the same as those between Maryland and Pennsylvania, being of oölitic limestone, with P on one side and M on the other, and the arms of Penn and Baltimore on every fifth stone. The only part of the boundary marked with stones of gneiss is the west end of the curved line about New Castle, Delaware, where it touched the possessions of Lord Baltimore. Why this is so I do not know. The gneiss stones came from local quarries, the limestones were prepared in England.

"There are two other corrections of minor importance. Dr. Ash's map of Delaware County was not published in 1865, but about fifteen years earlier, and the Providence Road was laid out by fourteen commissioners, and not five as I said. Finally, the Chester Town-Hall is the oldest City Hall in the United States 'in continuous use.' There is an older one in Yonkers, New York." (See also correction in Notes and Queries page 137.)



1. William Penn stone on Haverford Road near City Line.
3. Lawrence Growden's 13th stone on Bensalem Road.

2. Thomas Nossiter's stone in front of Providence Meeting.
4. J. stone on Bethlehem Road near Ambler.

Bulletin of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia

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NOTE.—The editor does not hold himself responsible for any statement made in contributed articles.

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THE OLD MILESTONES ABOUT PHILADELPHIA.¹

Many of the old roads radiating from the city of Philadelphia are guarded by milestones of upwards of a century and a half of service. These silent sentinels have seen the conestoga wagons of the pioneers migrating toward the sunset; the pillion saddles and sedan chairs of the revolutionary period; the intercity stage-coaches that preceded the railroads; the trolley cars, bicycles, and automobiles of the present day; and one of them, perhaps the oldest of all, daily sees the mail-carrying aeroplane break its journey between the metropolis and the capital.

The critical date in milestone history is 1796, when the Philadelphia and Lancaster Turnpike, the first in America, was opened for traffic. In accordance with the stipulations of its charter, this company placed milestones for use in computing toll along its course. This provision was made in the charters of nearly all subsequent turnpike companies until 1859. These stones indicated the distance from the city limits, that being where the turnpike began, and so they can be distinguished from all earlier stones which measured from the old courthouse on Market Street between Front and Second Streets. Another point of difference is that the earlier stones were taken from local quarries, and in some instances were placed by private enterprise, so that they differ among themselves in size, shape, lettering, and material, while the turnpike stones are almost entirely of marble, a substance which came into use for the purpose with the turnpikes.

In this article the various roads will be considered in geographical order, taking up first those north of the city.

THE POINT-NO-POINT ROAD.

This is the old Shackamaxon road taken by William Penn and the Indians when they went out to the Elm tree to sign the treaty. It is now known as Richmond Avenue. There are two mile-

¹ In the preparation of this article acknowledgment of assistance is due to F. H. Shelton, F. Perry Powers, Anthony M. Hance, Dr. Herman Burgin, Chas. F. Jenkins, and John R. Davies.

stones on it, numbered 4 and 5. The first stands near the corner of Venango Street. During the revolution, two American officers, John Laurens and Charles Lee, fought a duel over language used by the latter in speaking of George Washington. Both parties expressed satisfaction with the result, but Alexander Hamilton, Laurens' second, felt called upon to explain how honor could be satisfied without any shedding of blood, and wrote a long account of the affair, in which he states that it took place in the woods near the fourth milestone on the Point-no-point road. It is gratifying to read that both parties behaved like gentlemen.

The stone is very roughly hewn, and so covered with soot that it is difficult to identify its material. It bears no legend other than the numeral.


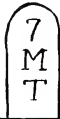

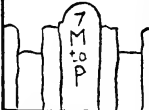







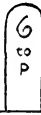
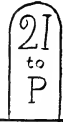


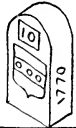








THE BRISTOL ROAD.

The Philadelphia, Bristol, and Morrisville Turnpike was opened in 1804. It began at Front Street and Germantown Road, then the city limits. The milestones now on the road measure from this point, and are typical turnpike stones of Pennsylvania marble. They are marked with the numeral and the letters M T arranged vertically. The M stands for miles, but the meaning of the T is obscure. These are not the original stones on this road, however. As early as 1764 the Philadelphia Contributionship² had erected a series of milestones on this same course, as described in the following minute of that organization:

May 16th 1764: Peter Reeve, Joseph Saunders, and Thomas Wharton, who were requested by the Board of Directors to apply the fines arising from non-attendance of the directors since the year 1761 in purchasing milestones, made the following report, viz:

"We the Subscribers beg leave to Report to the Directors of the Fire Insurance Office, that, agreeable to their Request 'that we would procure a sufficient Number of Milestones and fix them on the Road leading to Trenton Ferry and apply to such persons as would be capable of Measuring the Distance and placing them properly,' That you would pay the Cost and expense thereof out of the Fines that were paid by the Directors for Non Attendance since the year 1761.

² This is the oldest fire insurance company in the world. Its insignia bears four hands, each clasping the next by the wrist, whence the popular name, "The Hand in Hand."

 <p>Point-to-point Road</p>	 <p>Bristol and Bustleton Pikes</p>	 <p>Second St Pike</p>	 <p>Old York Road.</p>
 <p>Old York Road</p>	 <p>Old York Road Pike</p>	 <p>Easton Road</p>	 <p>Limekiln Road</p>
 <p>Bethlehem Road</p>	 <p>North Wales Road</p>	 <p>Skippack Road</p>	 <p>Germantown Pike</p>
 <p>Germantown Pike</p>	 <p>Ridge Road</p>	 <p>Ridge Pike</p>	 <p>Gulph Road</p>
 <p>Old Lancaster Road</p>	 <p>Old Lancaster Road</p>	 <p>Lancaster Pike</p>	 <p>Westchester Road</p>
 <p>Baltimore Pike</p>	 <p>Newcastle Road</p>	 <p>Newcastle Road</p>	 <p>Providence Road.</p>

"We procured the Stones, and apply'd to John Lukins, Surveyor General, Philip Syng, Jacob Lewis, and Thomas Gordon, Gentn. to join us in measuring the Distance from Philadelphia, to the Edge of the River at the Ferry leading to Trenton, who Cheerfully undertook the Serving, and on the 15th Instant at 5 o Clo. in the Morning we began to Measure from the Middle of Market Street in Front Street, and at the Distance of each Mile, affix'd or planted a Stone marked with the proper Characters to describe the Distance from this City, and when arrived at the Ferry found it to be 29 Miles & 24 Chains to the edge of the River, having passed thro' the New Road leading thro' Pennsburg Manner, as it is the most direct and likely to be used, the distance being short'ned more than One mile.

"The cost of the Stones, with the expence attending the planting them amounts to Thirty three ponds Seven shillings, and five pence. We having purchased two More Stones than was necessary, being numb. 30 & 31 Gave them to Nathl. Parker who promised to fix them on the Road leading to New York."

These old stones have all disappeared. One formerly stood at 943 North Front Street, and read, "1 M to P."³ The two in Trenton were removed when the street was widened, and the rest were doubtless thrown out by the turnpike company when the later stones were placed.

The founder and leading spirit of the Contributionship was Benjamin Franklin. In 1767 he visited New England and while there stones were placed on the old Post Road leading from Boston into Connecticut. Local tradition connects Franklin's name with these milestones and also states that it was his intention to erect stones all the way to Charleston, S. C. In an effort to run out this tradition several years ago Mr. F. Perry Powers visited several libraries in New England but was unable to uncover any documentary evidence in support of it.

THE BUSTLETON ROAD.

This road branches off of the left side of the Bristol Road at Frankford, above the five-milestone of the pike series on the latter. The Bustleton and Smithfield Turnpike was incorporated at about the same time as the Bristol Pike with the same Board of Directors. The stones on this road are essentially the same as

³ Watson's *Annals of Philadelphia*, Vol. III.

those on the Bristol Pike even to the M T after the numeral. Clearly the T cannot be the initial of the starting point, as both sets of stones have it and the two pikes start more than five miles apart. The numerals on the Bustleton Pike stones indicate the distance to Frankford. Probably it stands for Terminus or Turnpike.

Like the Bristol Road, the Bustleton Road also had a set of milestones antedating the turnpike. These were erected by Lawrence Growden on the road from Philadelphia to his country estate "Trevoise" at Byberry.⁴ The first Lawrence Growden came to Pennsylvania at a very early period and settled at Byberry, which is older than Philadelphia. The estate descended to the oldest son, and was purchased in 1731 by the second Lawrence Growden at a sheriff's sale. In 1732 he was appointed by the Penn estate to be one of the commissioners to run the Maryland boundary. Later in life he wrote an exhaustive exegetical treatise on the Book of Revelation. He died at Trevoise in 1770. The time when the stones were planted cannot be fixed with any certainty. Three of them are still standing, owing to the fact that the pike does not follow the line of the old road beyond Bustleton, but turns to the west by way of Somerton, while the old road follows the Bensalem Pike to Byberry. The thirteenth stone stood at the corner of Red Lion Road, but has recently been broken off by an auto-truck. The fragment inscribed "13 M to P" is propped up against a telephone pole. Some public-spirited organization ought to have it set in a concrete base in place, as it is probably the oldest milestone about Philadelphia.

THE OXFORD ROAD.

A short distance west of Frankford is Trinity Church, Oxford, with perhaps the most turbulent history of any house of worship in the state. Originally an Orthodox Friends' Meeting house it became involved in the Keithian schism and withdrew from the Yearly Meeting. But when George Keith returned from England as an ordained clergyman to found Christ Church his con-

⁴ Martindale's *History of Byberry and Moreland Townships*.

gregation could follow him no further and became a separate body calling themselves Christian Quakers and Friends.⁵ Subsequently they became associated with the Seventh Day Baptists, the descendants of the Pietists of the Wissahickon. In about 1720 a lawsuit awarded the property to the Episcopal Church and the Baptists withdrew to found the Cloister at Ephrata.⁶

The Oxford Road, from Frankford to Fox Chase, runs in front of the old church. On John Hill's circular map of ten miles radius about Philadelphia two stones numbered 7 and 8 are shown on this road, above and below the church. They indicate the distance from Market Street. No stones of this series are now standing as far as I know.

THE SECOND STREET PIKE.

The road past the back of Oxford Church was originally known as Rising Sun Lane, later as the Oxford and Fox Chase Turnpike, and the Second Street Pike. It and the Oxford Road come together just above the church. There is only one stone on it so far as I know, south of Fox Chase, that reads "7 M TO" the rest of the inscription being below ground. It is of no special interest, as the pike is of a very late date.

THE OLD YORK ROAD.

The first mention of milestones on the York Road occurs in an order given by General Washington at Pennypacker's Mills⁷ to General Smallwood at Whitemarsh on the eve of the Battle of Germantown. The latter was instructed to leave Whitemarsh Church by the "left hand road⁸ which leads to Jenkins tavern on the Old York Road below Armitage's, beyond the 7 milestone, half a mile from which a road turns off short to the right hand fenced on both sides, which leads through the enemy's encampment to Germantown Market House."⁹

⁵ A. C. Thomas' *History of Friends in America*, 1905, p. 98.

⁶ Dr. Julius Sachse's *The German Sectarrians of Pennsylvania*.

⁷ Schwenksville.

⁸ The Church Road. St. Thomas' Church, Whitemarsh, originated as a mission of Trinity Church, Oxford, and the rector opened this road for communication between his charges.

⁹ *The Pennsylvania Magazine*, Vol. I, p. 376.

This seven-milestone is still standing on the Old York Road in the parapet of a stone bridge between the three- and four-milestones of the present turnpike series. The Cheltenham and Willow Grove Turnpike was incorporated in 1803. It began at Rising Sun, which is something over three miles from Market Street. The stones are marked with two sets of distances, *c. g.*, "4 to RS 6 to P." Some distance north of the Neshaminy are three stones marked 23, 24, and 25 M to Ph. These may belong to the original set, though they differ in size and material from the seven-milestone described above. They have rounded tops, but the radius of the curve is so short in proportion to the width of the stone that a square shoulder subtends each extremity of the curve. This pattern is characteristic of several series erected about 1769.

THE PHILADELPHIA AND EASTON ROAD.

This important tributary of the Old York Road runs from Willow Grove to Easton by way of Doylestown. The milestones on the lower half have been obliterated by the Doylestown Pike, and the stones of the pike company have been disturbed by the traction company. But above Doylestown some of the old stones are still standing, one of which near Danboro reads "28 M to P 99" the last two figures indicating the year 1799.

THE LIMEKILN ROAD.

This road runs from the Old York Road near the three-milestone on the latter to Chalfont via Glenside. The only milestone on it I know of is at the corner of Church Road near Wyncote and it reads "10 MILE TO PH 1793." The pike dates from about 1850.

THE GERMANTOWN ROAD.

Even apart from its revolutionary associations the Germantown Road will always be one of the historic highways of America. The home of Gilbert Stuart—the house where Louisa May Alcott was born—the place where Germantown wagons were first made—the home of Christopher Sauer the printer who cast his own

type and printed the first Bible in America—the studio of Thomas Hovenden—the house where David Rittenhouse and Benjamin Franklin observed the transit of Venus in 1769—the Norriton Church built in 1698 and therefore the second oldest house of worship in the state—Methacten Meeting house with the grave of the younger Christopher Sower, the conscientious objector who was abducted by revolutionary soldiers and marched from Germantown to Valley Forge in his night clothes before breakfast—all these contribute to the interest of the road.¹⁰

The milestones begin with 5, east of Cheltenham Avenue, and end with 24 at the Perkiomen. All are in place but the 11th, they were placed in 1801 by the Germantown and Perkiomen Turnpike Company, which began at Third and Vine Streets and ran north on Third to Germantown Road. In 1840 the city annexed considerable territory north of Vine Street which had previously been the boundary, and the stones were recut to read one mile less. In John Melish's map of 1817 the stones are shown in their present position but the present 5 is called 6, and the present 24 is marked 25. For no apparent reason the stones up to and including 10 differ in lettering from those from 12 on. Both have the numeral and "to P" but the western ones are much more ornamental and the figures are larger.

But before the turnpike there were other stones on this course. The act of incorporation refers to the ten-milestone on Chestnut Hill. This is just ten miles from the courthouse, which is half a mile south of Vine Street. Chestnut Hill is half way between the present eight- and nine-milestones. The earlier stones are mentioned by several writers,¹¹ but there is no trace of what they were like.

THE BETHLEHEM ROAD.

The name Bethlehem Pike is a misnomer, as there never was a turnpike company operating over the entire distance between Philadelphia and Bethlehem. Beyond Chestnut Hill the Chestnut Hill and Springhouse Turnpike Company covered the first eight

¹⁰ John T. Faris' *Old Roads Leading out of Philadelphia*.

¹¹ General Wilkinson's *Memoirs*. Justin Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History*.

miles or so, and then other short pikes were linked together the rest of the way. The stones of the Springhouse pike are of marble with two distances indicated. The first stone reads "10½ M to P 1 to C.H." The second distance is underground on most stones. The distance to Philadelphia is to Vine Street, which indicates that the pike was incorporated prior to the recutting of the Germantown Pike stones.

There is one odd stone on the Bethlehem Road south of Ambler that differs from all stones so far considered in being red sandstone and in the use of J for 1. Thus it reads "J768. J5 M to P." This distance is from the courthouse and this stone may be one of the original Germantown Road stones.

There are other turnpike stones north of Springhouse.

THE NORTH WALES ROAD.

The first three stones on the road from Springhouse to North Wales are numbered 17, 18, and 19. They measure the distance from the point that the Germantown Pike stones do, indicating that this pike dates from not earlier than 1840. The fact that the three stones show no resemblance whatever to each other seems to indicate that the Springhouse and Sumneytown Pike set whatever old stones were available instead of making new ones. The 19 is of the square shoulder pattern already mentioned and the 18 is similar to the J stone at Ambler. In a revolutionary document an American officer states that after the Battle of Germantown some of the wounded were taken to an improvised hospital in the Friends' Meeting House near the 20th milestone on the North Wales Road.¹² The records of Gwynedd Meeting show that the building used for this purpose stood at the same point as the present Meeting house, which is near the 18 stone, which fact implies that the 18 stone does not occupy its original position.

THE SKIPPACK ROAD.

This road was opened in 1714 from Whitemarsh to Pennypacker's Mills by an ancestor of the late ex-governor. It was

¹² Anthony M. Hance's *Historic Whitemarsh*.

subsequently extended to Boyertown and Reading, and a branch from Skippack northward was later added, which became the main road from Philadelphia to New York and New England. Shortly west of Broad Axe is an old tombstone in a corn field erected to the memory of Ann Bate who died in 1715. The stone is ornamented with the head and wings of an angel, and a long piece of versification has been nearly obliterated by time. There are no other graves near, and one is at a loss to understand how this one came to be where it is.

The stones on this road begin with 15. They are of red sandstone and have the J for I. Three of them are dated—the 15th 1768, the 27th north of Skippack 1769, and the 34th west of the Perkiomen 177, the last figure being broken off. The 18th was formerly marked 81, and a recent recutting has obliterated the J. The 21st is marked “2J M to P” consistently with others of the set.

For one day after the evacuation of Philadelphia, Pennypacker's Mills was the capital of the United States. Washington's Headquarters were in the old Pennypacker homestead, now nearly 200 years old. It was over the Skippack Road that the Continental army marched on its way to Germantown.

THE RIDGE ROAD.

On August 12th, 1768, Jacob Hiltzheimer wrote in his diary :

“Went up the Wissahockon Road to set milestones. Dined at Leberon's with Hugh Roberts, Pearson Smith, Edward Milner, and John Lukens. Sr. and afterwards, a little beyond his home, we placed the XIII stone.”

About a decade later Lafayette marched past this stone on his way from Swedesford to reinforce the American army near Germantown.¹³ A map made by his engineers shows the 11th stone in place just south of St. Peter's Church, Barren Hill. In 1811 these stones were taken up by the Ridge Turnpike Company and a new set, measuring from the city limits at 9th and Vine Streets set up. The pike company, however, seems to have salvaged as

¹³ Charlemagne Tower's *The Marquis Lafayette in the American Revolution*.

many as possible of the old stones and set them in new positions, as there are two distinct types on this course. For instance, the 11th stone mentioned above is now north of the church, is of sandstone, square shoulder pattern, marked with numerals but no further legend. The 12th stone is a typical turnpike stone of marble with round top and square edges, and reads "12 M to P." All of the sandstones have been whitewashed and the inscription repainted.

The Ridge Road and the Germantown Road come together east of the Perkiomen. At this point there is a stone on the Ridge Road marked "23½ to P." It does not belong to either Ridge Road type. It resembles the Germantown Pike stones but can not belong to that series as the 24th stone of the Germantown Pike is across the road. It was probably placed by that pike to make it clear that the 24 stone refers to the Germantown route.

THE GULPH ROAD.

The Gulph Road is the oldest road between Philadelphia and Lancaster still open throughout its entire course. Leaving the Old Lancaster Road just west of the eighth milestone, it follows the general course of Mill Creek past the mill of John Roberts, whose convictions concerning warfare cost him his life during the revolution. Beyond is Harriton, built in 1704, where Charles Thomson, first congressional secretary, made the first complete English translation of the Greek Septuagint. Thence it runs to the Gulph, crossing the longest diabase dyke in the world, according to Dr. Henry Carvill Lewis, and by way of Valley Forge to Moore Hall,¹⁴ where it divides, one fork going to Potts' Grove and Reading, the other to Lancaster via French Creek Falls.

The old iron foundry at Coventry was at one time operated by Mordecai Lincoln, great-grandfather of the president, and many revolutionary cannon were cast here. Anyone who has ever driven through a triassic shale road axle-deep with chocolate colored mud can perhaps appreciate the experience of the double-spanned teams that dragged these armaments over the Gulph Road to Philadelphia before the days of McAdam and Telford.

¹⁴ Phoenixville.

The stones on this road are of great interest. They are roughly hewn out of a fine-grained gneiss of dark color, not dressed at all except that some have a square panel out in the face to receive the numeral. The characteristic feature of these stones is on the back, where the shield and three balls of the Penn Arms is engraved. The first one is the 9, and being a mile from the 8 on the Old Lancaster Road they continue that run. The last is the 18, beyond the King of Prussia.

THE OLD LANCASTER ROAD.

In William Penn's correspondence he states his intention to build a city on the Susquehanna "in the most convenient place for communication with the plantations on the east, which by land is as good as done already."¹⁵ He probably referred to the Great Conestoga Road, whose western terminus was Pequea, the first settlement by Europeans on the Susquehanna. Lancaster was not yet founded.¹⁶

The course of this old road cannot now be identified, but it probably included part of the Old Lancaster Road, opened in 1744, which can still be traced except for a few stretches abandoned or obliterated by the Pennsylvania Railroad. The first milestone now standing is the 6 at Wynnefield Avenue and 54th Street, which bears a plate stating that it marks the course of the Blockley and Merion Turnpike opened in 1690. This is very misleading as there were no turnpikes in America prior to 1796. There can be no doubt that the road is a very old one, as along its course are the homesteads of the Wynne and Owen families dating from 1690 and 1695; Merion Meeting, the oldest house of worship in the state, 1695; the second oldest hotel in the state, the General Wayne, 1704; the Buck Inn, 1735; and Radnor Meeting, 1718. But the milestones belong to a later date. The 16th near Strafford is dated 1769. These stones are of the square shoulder pattern like those on the Ridge Road, the Skippack Road, and the Bethlehem Road, and being placed at the same time were probably the work of the same agency.

¹⁵ Hazard's *Register of Pennsylvania*.

¹⁶ Charles I. Landis' *The First Long Turnpike in America*.

THE LANCASTER TURNPIKE.

The first turnpike in America was opened in 1796 between Philadelphia and Lancaster. The former was the largest city in America at that time and the latter was the largest inland town. All traffic from the west came either by the Great Lakes or the Ohio River, and then by portages to the Susquehanna, being concentrated in Lancaster County. In addition all traffic from the south came through Lancaster, as there was no bridge or ferry south of the county. When Elizabeth Drinker went to Virginia to see her husband, exiled because a conscientious objector, she went by way of Lancaster, as did Dr. Schoepf, in his "Travels Through the Confederacy." But this was before the turnpike was built. Shortly after it was incorporated the yellow fever epidemic broke out and New York surpassed Philadelphia in population, and the opening of the Erie Canal permanently diverted western traffic from Philadelphia.

The milestones are of carefully dressed marble, and set the fashion for the stones of all subsequent pikes. They measure from the Market Street bridge, which accounts for the 14th stone of this series being west of the 16th stone of the Old Lancaster Road.

THE OLD HAVERFORD ROAD.

The Haverford Road was opened at a very early date. It began at about 20th and Vine Streets and ran in a northwesterly direction to the Schuylkill, which it crossed on the first suspension bridge in the United States. Just outside of the city limits is a large rock from which Rebecca Wood is said to have mounted William Penn's horse when he gave her a lift on the way to Haverford Meeting. The Pont Reading house of uncertain date, and the Llewellyn house, known as Castle Br'th where William Penn was seen at prayer¹⁷ and whose date stone announces that it was built in 1699, testify to age of this road. There was formerly a stone since removed to the Haverford Campus nearby that read "MD LL 1683." The letters stand for Morris and

¹⁷ Philip C. Garrett's *History of Haverford College*.

David Llewellyn, the former being William Penn's Deputy Surveyor.¹⁸

The milestones on this road have been hit pretty hard by the souvenir hunter. One is in the basement of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, one is underground owing to a change in grading, two adorn private lawns, and only three remain on the road. One of these is on Haverford College property. These stones are similar to the Gulph Road stones in bearing the insignia of the Penn family.

The origin of these stones is wrapped in mystery. Watson, the annalist, assigns them to the Mutual Assurance Company. But that company was not founded until 1784,¹⁹ while one of the Gulph stones is dated 1770. Circumstantial evidence would involve them with the boundary stones between the domains of Penn and Lord Baltimore, for the stones marking the western boundary of Delaware are almost identical. They were placed by Mason and Dixon in 1765. The stones on the southern boundary of Pennsylvania are altogether different.

THE HAVERFORD AND DARBY ROAD.

This road is also known as the Coopertown Road. There is only one milestone on it, and that one is west of Grassland. It is one of the Penn Arm stones, numbered 10, and stands just one mile west of the number 9 on the Haverford Road, so it must be considered a tributary of that system. The road between the two runs past the old Haverford Meeting house built in 1700, the second oldest Friends Meeting house in the state, but the road is perhaps even older, and may have been originally laid out by the Dutch East India Company.

THE PHILADELPHIA AND STRASBURG ROAD.

This road dates from about 1770, but its original course is hard to trace. Following the course of the present Westchester Pike to the vicinity of Darby Creek, it made its way via the grounds

¹⁸ Thomas Allen Glenn's *Merion in the Welsh Tract*.

¹⁹ The Contributionship did not insure houses with trees. Hence the later company was organized for the purpose and adopted a tree for its insignia.

of the Radnor Hunt Club to Old Newtown Square, where William Penn intended to build the first town west of Philadelphia. The Meeting House at this point was built in 1711. Thence it made its way via the Boot and Downingtown to the Gap and Strasburg. Subsequently it was rerouted to pass through Westchester, and still later Castle Rock, the scene of the capture of James Fitzpatrick, the original of Sandy Flash in Bayard Taylor's "Story of Kennett."

The Turnpike Company was incorporated in 1848 and never extended west of Newtown Square. The stones were standing in 1807 according to Hill's map already quoted, and in their present position, which is somewhat remarkable as they measure from 32d street, where the turnpike began forty years later. They extend well beyond Westchester, and probably all the way to Strasburg. They are of Leiperville granite.

THE GARRETT ROAD.

There was formerly a six-milestone on this road near Garrettford. The distance would apply to 32d street. It is said that this stone was placed by Dr. Joshua Ash, who surveyed Delaware County in 1865, pushing his surveying outfit ahead of him in a wheelbarrow as he worked. His map has been the basis of all maps made since, but there is no apparent reason why he should be connected with this stone.

THE BALTIMORE PIKE.

The Philadelphia, Brandywine, and New London Turnpike Company was incorporated in 1811 to operate on this road, but it never materialized and no toll gates or milestones were ever set up.²⁰ The only stone on the course is at Clifton, east of the tracks, and reads "6 M TO P." As it is not shown on Ash's map, and as Dr. Ash was a most painstaking man, the inference is that it was erected since 1865.

²⁰ F. H. Shelton in the *Proceedings of the Delaware County Institute of Science*, 1915.

THE ROAD TO NEWCASTLE.

This is the oldest road leading out of the city in any direction. It was used by the Swedes in going from their capital at Christina²¹ to the settlements at Tinicum and Weccacoe. The oldest city in the state, Chester, is on its course. Yet there was never a turnpike on it until after the date when turnpikes stopped setting milestones. There is a minute of the Contributionship referring to the setting up of stones on this road, but apparently the stones now on the road belong to another series. They measure from the courthouse, but only a few are standing. The seven-milestone in Colwyn is altogether different from the rest and may be an interpolation. The 9th and 15th (the latter in front of the town hall in Chester, which is the oldest municipal building in the United States) are against stone walls, the 16th is without, and the 19th and 20th in Marcus Hook, with the Penn Arms. All have "M to P" after the numerals. The 21st has been broken off, but the stump still stands near Claymont, and the rest of the stones to the south have been replaced by modern ones.

THE PROVIDENCE ROAD.

The milestones on this road do not properly belong to this article as they measure the distance not from Philadelphia but from Chester. Their great age makes them of interest however. Of the original five, the first and third have disappeared, the third being replaced. But the other three are standing and display great originality. The most interesting is the fifth in front of Providence Meeting, Media, for it bears the date 1705. If this is correct, and there seems to be no good reason why it is not, this is the oldest milestone in the United States. There is one near Boston dated 1706. The Providence road was laid out in 1684 by five commissioners who met at the home of Thomas Nossiter, and as the stone bears the initials T N as well as the date and the numeral, the proof of its age seems to me at least to be conclusive, although there are some who think that the top of the stone is broken off and the date should read 1765. This would leave no satisfactory explanation of the initials.

²¹ Wilmington.

With these we shall take leave of the milestones, at least for the present. There is still much room for investigation, however, and I will always be interested to hear anything from those to whom the subject may appeal. If this article shall have been instrumental in preserving any of these links with the past, I shall consider my object fully attained.

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2650 SECOND STREET, SAN DIEGO, CALIF. 8. 17. 19.

THE SECOND PERIOD OF QUAKERISM.¹

"The present volume is a sequel to *The Beginnings of Quakerism*, published in 1912, and completes, after fourteen years, my contribution to the History of Quakerism projected by my friend, the late John Wilhelm Rowntree." Such are the opening words of William C. Braithwaite in the Preface to his new work, *The Second Period of Quakerism*. This work is of the same scholarly, thorough character as the one which preceded it, and all students of Quaker History owe an inestimable debt of gratitude to the author. The book is simply indispensable for the right study and clear understanding of the Quaker movement, and is not likely ever to be superseded any more than Sewel's and Besse's great works.

The period covered, 1660-1725, has never been adequately treated before, and a flood of light is now thrown on this difficult period—difficult to any church body—the period of organization. It has not the spirit of adventure, so conspicuous in the early days, nor that abandon characteristic of earnest reformers in a comparatively new field; moreover, "outward organization tends to lessen inward inspiration"; therefore, from many points of view such a period lacks a compelling interest. Notwithstanding this, the author has given us a remarkably interesting work, and has successfully piloted his way through many

¹ *The Second Period of Quakerism*, by William C. Braithwaite, B.A., LL.B. With Introduction by Rufus M. Jones, M.A., D.Litt. Macmillan and Co., Limited, London. 5½ × 8½ in., pp. xlvii, 668. 15s. \$5.50.

shoals, past many rocks and distracting eddies. George Fox as an organizer is clearly set forth and his work wisely estimated.

There is not space to dwell on special topics, but nowhere is there a clearer statement of the persecutions or a fairer judgment regarding them (chapters II-IV). The chapter on "Education and the Ministry" (XIX) is illuminating and dissipates much that was misty and cloudy; "The Quaker Way of Life" (XVIII) throws much light on social life and the question of "plain dress." Perhaps as fresh to most readers as anything in the book will be the careful study (pages 571-594) of John Bellers (1654-1725), "by far the greatest of the early Quaker Social Reformers." But no subject of importance is overlooked. Like the former volume, the style is excellent, rising at times into eloquence and beauty. The concluding chapter is specially so marked. Take one of the closing paragraphs:

"Days of fresh daring and dedication are before us, in which, with Dewsbury, we may glad our hearts in the unlimited power of God; and, with Fox, know all things new; and the creation giving us another smell than before, beyond what words can utter. Then will walls of partition crumble down and no longer hold us from wider fellowships and our rekindled mission. We shall welcome poverty and the scorn of the world, if they bring us nearer to our fellow-men and the heart of the Divine purpose. Our social service will be given alongside the needs of humanity; and we shall think first not of self nor of our Society but of the Kingdom and its righteousness. We shall find in every face some feature of the Divine love, and in the lowliest service some sacrament of grace. The radiant joy of our worship will overflow into the manifold tasks of the day's work and will turn each fresh duty laid upon us into a glad adventure. Our Captain will take us through uncharted seas in the service of His Kingdom; but as the Church trusts her helm to Him she will hold a true course and outride every storm." (Pages 645, 646.)

The "Introduction" by Rufus M. Jones deserves, says William C. Braithwaite in the Preface, "close study in amplification of some of my later chapters." No doubt some readers will be inclined to dissent from the analysis of Robert Barclay and his "Apology" which is given both in the "Introduction" and in the book itself. But those familiar with the theology of Barclay's day, know how greatly Barclay was influenced by his theological training, and that the "Apology" itself, closely following the line

of thought of the Westminster Confession and the Shorter Catechism, is an attempt to express Quaker tenets in the theological language and form of the time, and to show that they were in accord with the essentials of the Christian faith. At the same time Barclay could not escape from his early Calvinistic training in regard to "the innate depravity of human nature," and this dogma is continually appearing or is seen in the background. Yet Barclay firmly holds "the conviction, grounded in his own living experience, of the inwardness of religion as the power of a universal and saving Divine life incarnated in Jesus, but, in a measure, a living gift of God seeking out all men." "The permanent value of the 'Apology,'" says William Braithwaite, "lies . . . in the sureness of emphasis with which . . . he is continually asserting that religion is an inward spiritual life received from God and transforming human nature" (page 388).

The "Apology" becoming in later years a great authority on matters of Quaker doctrine, even to the partial displacement of Fox himself, this dualism of statement, mentioned above, led to much misunderstanding and subsequent trouble. The teaching of the book so exalted Quietism that it was one of the causes why the Friends lost their early spirit of adventure and outreaching and became that isolated body whose main concern seemed to be the conservation of "our testimonies," not realizing that while the one was rightly done, the other should not have been left undone.

Too often, Friends, as well as others, have failed to recognize that while truth is unchangeable the method of presenting truth changes with changed conditions. Men will no longer bear with two and three hour sermons which their forefathers delighted in. The elaborate treatises which the Church of the fourth and fifth centuries enjoyed are forgotten now except by students, and the polemic discourses of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries stand untouched upon the shelves of the great libraries. So with much of the Quaker literature of the early days. In one collection of seventeenth century tracts numbering about 1500 separate titles, scarcely twenty-five are known even by name to the Quaker of to-day. So Barclay's "Catechism" and "Apol-

ogy," John Crook's "Truths' Principles," Bates's "Doctrines," Evans's "Exposition," and Gurney's "Observations," valuable as they were in their time, do not reach the seeker of to-day. Twentieth century men and women seek twentieth century presentation.² That this is true, one need only consult the lists of Quaker booksellers. More fresh and able presentations of Quaker teaching have appeared during the past twenty years than in the previous seventy-five or possibly a hundred. The Series, of which the volume under review is one, is itself a testimony to this fact. May all new works be as faithful to the essentials of Quakerism as this.

ALLEN C. THOMAS.

REVOLUTIONARY JOURNAL OF MARGARET MORRIS OF BURLINGTON, NEW JERSEY. II.

Dec. 19, 1776. A man was met on the road, with a white rag tied to a stick, supposed to represent a flag, but whence he came or where he was going, the wisest head on the bank (J. V.)²¹ cannot conjecture. A report prevails that General Putnam with 1000 men are on their march—this puts all into motion at Holly. The Hessians retire to the Black Horse. Not one gondola man ashore all this day; we may burn a candle all night and sleep secure. This evening received a letter from Dr. C. M.²² inviting me to move into his neighborhood, but my mind is easiest while I conclude to abide where Providence has cast my lot—He has preserved us in great dangers, and I dare not distrust his future care. A letter from the brother²³ and friend of my heart, gives me hope of his return; his advice must determine my future movements, if I remove, a friend in need is a friend indeed.

² These facts are also illustrated by the periodic revisions of Yearly Meeting Disciplines. In no case have the fundamentals been altered; changes and additions have been almost if not always those of clearer statement, additional aspects, and in practice better adapted to changed conditions.

²¹ James Verec.

²² Charles Moore.

²³ George Dillwyn, the husband of her sister Sarah; he was in England.

Dec. 20. A snow-storm last night has almost stopped the navigation, and sent our guarda-costas out of sight down the river; surely this will be a quiet day—methinks I will call for my work-basket, and set myself to sewing—but hark! a rap at the door—that face (J. V.) is full of intelligence. “Well, what news, neighbor?” “Oh, bless me! great news indeed! why, ha’nt you heard it?” “No, we have seen nobody from town to-day; do tell us.” “Why the Hessians are actually just here; Master P., W. D., &c., &c., are all gone out to see what they can do.” “Well! and will they bring them all into town? I’m sure we are but poorly provided for just now for a great deal of company.” J. V. still goes on—“Oh! Ah! you will have enough of them; I expect to have my house full! I saw a man from Holly, yesterday, who says he saw fifty of the light-horse, all very fine English horses—oh, it was a terrible sight to see how they all foamed at the mouth and pranced—and fifty Hessians all quartered at Holly; but Putnam is surely coming with 1500 men.” “Well, but neighbor, I should suppose it was a very fine sight to see so many fine horses together, and prancing.” “Oh no, bless my spirits! it is a terrible sight to see how they foamed at the mouth!” “Well, we shall hear by and by what the ambassadors have done—I hope they won’t come in to-night with the Hessians, for I am quite unprovided to entertain company.” (Observe, Patty, it was I that was in such a fidget and not provided for company.) “Whip the fellows, I got supper enough for twenty of them the first night of the alarm, and I’m resolved I’ll trouble myself no more about them till I see some of them in earnest.” 17 Hessians in town to-day, and we were told the Recorder was desired to prepare a dinner for about 5000 men; a friend from town called in about 4 o’clock, and told us they were all a-coming. We asked if he had seen them? no! but he heard they were just here. We asked him how we, at this distance from town, should know of their coming; they might pop upon us here, and scare us out of our wits, as we had no man in the house. He said, “Oh, you will know of it fast enough, I warrant—why the noise of the cannon and the wagons will be heard at a great distance, and I advise you to make good use of your time till they do come, and

put all things of gold and silver out of their way, and linen too, or you will lose it." I said they pillaged none but rebels, and we were not such; we had had taken no part against them, &c. But that signified nothing; we should lose all, &c. After he was gone, my S. D.²⁴ and myself asked each other why it was that all these stories did not put us into a fright; we were not even discomposed; surely it is a favor never to be forgotten. We concluded to sit up a little later than usual to-night, but no rattling could we hear. Ambassadors returned—a report that the Congress dollars will be allowed to circulate for a certain number of years—a battery talked of, to be raised at the point of the island. We are told the two pieces of cannon said to be at Bristol, have disappeared.

Dec. 21. More snow last night—no danger of gondolas now—more ambassadors gone out to-day to the Hessians—not much to be expected from one of them.—A great deal of talk in the neighborhood about a neutral island; wish with great earnestness it may be allowed—wonder the men in town don't think it worth while to step down here and tell us what they are after—get quite in the fidgets for news—send Dick to town to collect some—he returns quite newsless—good mind to send him back again. W. D.²⁵ comes at last—tells us all we expected to hear—pleases us by saying we shall have timely notice of their coming—gives a hint that the feeble and defenceless will find safety and protection—rank ourselves among the number, having no man with us in the house. Determine not to be unprovided again, let them come or not, as the weather is now so cold provisions will keep good several days. We pity the poor fellows who were obliged to be out last night in the snow. Repeat our wishes that this may be a neutral island—quite sleepy—go to bed and burn a lamp all night—talk as loud as usual, and don't regard the creaking of the door—no gondola men listening about the bank. Before we retired to bed this evening, an attempt was made to teach the children to pronounce "*weccates*"²⁶ like a Dutchman. Our good

²⁴ S. D., Sarah Dillwyn, her sister, the wife of George Dillwyn.

²⁵ W. D., William Dillwyn.

²⁶ German, *Wie geht es?* How goes it? How are you?

neighbor a little concerned to think there is not one in the neighborhood that will be able to interpret for us when the Hessians are quartered upon us. At last, by dint of mere conjuration, I discovered that his maid is a Dutch woman, and we resolve, *nem. con.*, that she shall be the interpreter of the bank, and her master thinks it will be a great thing to have one that can speak for us.

Dec. 22. It is said that Putnam with 1000 men are at Mount Holly; all the women removed from the town except one widow of our acquaintance—this evening we hear the sound of much hammering at Bristol,²⁷ and it is conjectured that a fortification is carrying on there—more cannon said to be planted on the island—we hear this afternoon that the gentlemen who went last night to the Count de Nope with a request that our town might be allowed to remain a neutral one, are returned, and report that he had too many affairs of greater consequence in hand to attend to them, or give an answer. I think we don't like the Count quite so well to-day as we did yesterday. We heard yesterday that General Lee was taken prisoner by a party of light-horse, who surrounded him, and took him to New York (hope privately that he will not escape); to-day (22d) we hear General Howe is at Trenton, and it is thought there will be an engagement soon. A man who was at Mount Holly the other day, tells us he saw a great many of the British troops—that some of them went to the magazine there (a small room over the court-house) and took out about 100 wooden canteens, and the same number of broken fire-arms, and calling for a guard of 100 men, piled them up in the street, and ordered the men in derision, to take charge of them. This afternoon we hear of our refugee²⁸ again, and that he has got a protection, as it is called. The rage of tory-hunting a little subsided; we now hear only of the Hessian hunters; but they make a poor hand of it—not one brought in that we know of. We hear this afternoon that our officers are afraid their men will not fight, and wish may all run home again. A peaceable man ventured to prophesy to-day that, if the war is continued through the winter, the British troops will be scared at the sight of our

²⁷ Bristol was just across the Delaware River, in Pennsylvania.

²⁸ Dr. Jonathan Odell, who had been concealed in her house.

men, for as they never fought with naked men, the novelty of it will terrify them, and make them retreat faster than they advanced to meet them; for he says, he thinks it probable they will not have clothes to cover them a month or two hence.

Several of the families who left the town on the day of the cannonading are returned to their houses; the intelligence brought in this evening is seriously affecting; a party of our men, about 200, marched out of Mount Holly, and meeting with a party of Hessians near a place called Petticoat Bridge, an engagement ensued—the Hessians retreating rather advancing—a heavy firing of musketry and some cannon heard; we are informed that twenty-one of our men were killed in the engagement, and that they returned at night to their head-quarters at Mount Holly, the Hessians to their at the Black Horse.

Dec. 23. This day twelve gondolas came up the river again, but we know not as yet the occasion of their coming; the troops at Mount Holly went out again to-day and engaged the Hessians near the same place where they met yesterday; it is reported we lost ten men, and that our troops are totally routed and the Hessians in possession of Mount Holly. This evening a little alarm in our neighborhood; a report reaching us that 3000 troops now at Bristol are to cross over in the night (and to land on our bank) in order to join the routed party of yesterday. My dear S. D.'s spirits for the first time forsook her hearing this, and my heart grieved that I could offer nothing to compose her. We conjecture the gondolas are to lie here in readiness to receive our men should they be put to flight—be that as it may, we don't like to see them so near us, and wish for another snow-storm to drive them away.

Dec. 24. The gondolas all gone out of sight; but whether up or down the river we know not. This morning we are told of a fearful alarm which was spread through the town last night; that the gondolas had orders to fire on it in the night, as it was said the Hessians were expected to come in after the rout of yesterday, and take possession here as they had done at Mount Holly; happily, this account did not reach us till it was proved to be false. It seems the commodore had sent one M'Knight on

shore, who informed the inhabitants of it. W. Smith and B. Helm went to Bristol in the evening, and acquainted General Cadwallader with what they had heard, who signified to the commodore the necessity of the removal of the fleet, as the ice would probably make it difficult for them to sail a few days hence. When this was taken to the commodore, he denied having sent the information which so alarmed the inhabitants. It was thought he appeared a little disguised with liquor at the time. We hear the Hessians are still at Holly, and our troops in possession of Church Hill, a little beyond. The account of twenty-one killed the first day of the engagement, and ten the next is not to be depended on, as the Hessians say our men run so fast they had not the opportunity of killing any of them. Several Hessians in town to-day. They went to Daniel Smith's and inquired for several articles in the shop, which they offered to pay for; two were observed to be in liquor in the street; they went to the tavern, and calling for rum ordered the man to charge it to the king. We hear that two houses in the skirts of the town were broke open by the Hessians and pillaged. The gondolas have been lying down at Dunk's Ferry all this day. A pretty heavy firing heard up the river to-day, but no account yet received of the occasion, or where it was.

Dec. 25. An officer said to be gone to Bristol from the Count de Nope with a flag, and offers of letting our town remain a neutral post. General Reed²⁹ at Philadelphia. An express sent to him; and we hear he is to meet the Count to-morrow, at Jno. Antrim's, and settle the preliminaries.

Dec. 26. Very stormy; we fear General Reed will not meet the Count to-day. A great number of flat-bottomed boats gone up the river; we cannot learn where they are going to.

Dec. 27. A letter from General Reed to his brother, informing him that Washington with the regulars on the 25th, early in the morning, taking them by surprise; killed 50 and took 900 prisoners.³⁰ The loss on our side not known, or if known, not suf-

²⁹ General Joseph Reed of Philadelphia, of whom later.

³⁰ This was the celebrated surprise of the British at Trenton by Washington, Christmas, 1776.

ferred to be public. It seems this heavy loss to the regulars was owing to the prevailing custom among the Hessians of getting drunk on the eve of that great day which brought peace on earth and good-will to men; but oh! how unlike Christians is the manner in which they celebrate it. Can we call ourselves Christians, while we act so contrary to our Master's rules? He set the example which we profess to follow, and here is a recent instance that we only profess it; instead of good-will, envy and hatred seem to be the ruling passions in the breasts of thousands. This evening, the 27th, about 3000 of the Pennsylvania militia and other troops landed in the neck, and marched into town with artillery, baggage, &c., and are quartered on the inhabitants. One company was lodged at J. V.'s,³¹ and a guard placed between his house and ours. We were so favored as not to have any sent to our house. An officer spent the evening with us, and appeared to be in high spirits, and talked of engaging the English as a very trifling affair—nothing so easy as to drive them over the North River, &c.—not considering there is a God of battle, as well as a God of Peace, who may have given them the late advantage in order to draw them out to meet the chastisement that is reserved for them.

Dec. 28. Early this morning the troops marched out of town in high spirits. A flight of snow this morning drove the gondolas again down the river. My heart sinks when I think of the numbers unprepared for death, who will probably be sent in a few days to appear before the Judge of heaven. The weather clearing up this afternoon, we observed several boats, with soldiers and their baggage, making up to our wharf; as I looked at them I thought I saw a face that was not strange to me, and taking a nearer view, found it was the well-known face of my beloved brother and friend, G. D.³² When I saw the companions he was among, I thought of what Solomon said of his beloved, that she was like an apple tree amongst the trees of the wood. When he came into the house, my kindred heart bade him wel-

³¹ James Verree.

³² George Dillwyn, who was the husband of her sister Sarah with whom she was making her home.

come to the hospitable roof—for so must I ever deem that roof which has sheltered me and my little flock—though our joy at meeting him was checked by the prospect before us and around. A man, who seemed to have command over the soldiers just landed, civilly asked for the keys of Colonel Cox's house, in which they stowed their baggage, and took up their quarters for the night, and were very quiet.

Dec. 29. This morning the soldiers at the next house prepared to depart, and, as they passed my door, they stopped to bless and thank me for the food I sent them which I received, not as my due, but as belonging to my *Master* who had reached a morsel to them by my hand.³³ A great number of soldiers in town to-day; another took possession of the next house when the first left it. The inhabitants much straightened for bread to supply the soldiers, and firewood to keep them warm. This seems to be only one of the many calamities of war.

Dec. 30. A number of poor soldiers sick and wounded brought into town to-day, and lodged in the court-house; some of them in private houses. To-day, I hear, several of our townsmen have agreed to procure wood for the soldiers; but they found it was attended with considerable difficulty, as most of the wagons usually employed to bring in wood were pressed to take the soldiers' Baggage.

Dec. 31. We have been told of an engagement between the two armies, in which it was said the English had 400 taken pris-

³³ An interesting confirmation of these statements is found in the "Journal of Sergeant William Young" published in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (vol. viii, 259, 260), as follows: "Saturday 28 got all over. Baggage in the wagon Marched to Bristol then loaded it aboard a flat bottomed Boat, and with much Difficulty got over on account of the Ice and by the good providence of God, got in the Colonel house before dark. As soon as we got our Baggage housed set about foraging for wood, got some pretty Readily made a good fire. Got supper went to sleep.

Sunday Morning (29) got up pretty Early, went about breakfast, all well. . . . I Expect to set out this morning to join our company; the good woman next Door Sent us 2 Mince pies Last Night, which I took very kind. May God Bless all our friends and benefactors."

oners and 300 killed and wounded. The report of the evening contradicts the above intelligence, and there is no certain account of a battle.

Jan. 1, 1776. This New Year's Day has not been ushered in with the usual rejoicings, etc., and I believe it will be the beginning of a sorrowful year to very many people. Yet the flatterer, hope, bids me look forward with confidence to Him who can bring out of this confusion the greatest order. I do not hear that any messengers have been in town from the camp.

Jan. 3. This morning we heard very distinctly a heavy firing of cannon; the sound came from about Trenton, and at noon a number of soldiers, upwards of one thousand, came into town in great confusion, with baggage and some cannon. From these soldiers we learn there was a smart engagement yesterday at Trenton, and that they left them engaged near Trenton mill, but were not able to say which side was victorious. They were again quartered on the inhabitants, and we again exempt from the cumber of having them lodged in our house. Several of those who lodged in Colonel Cox's house last week returned to-night and asked for the key, which I gave them. About bed-time, I went into the next house to see if the fires were safe, and my heart was melted to see such a number of my fellow-creatures lying like swine on the floor, fast asleep, and many of them without even a blanket to cover them. It seems very strange to me, that such a number should be allowed to come from the camp at the very time of the engagements, and I shrewdly suspect they have run away, for they can give no account why they came or where they are to march next.

Jan. 4. The accounts hourly coming in are so contradictory and various, that we know not which to give credit to. We have heard our people have gained another victory; that the English are fleeing before them, some at Brunswick, some at Princeton. We hear to-day that Sharp Delany and A. Morris, and others of the Pennsylvania militia are killed, and that the Count de Nope is numbered with the dead; if so, the Hessians have lost a brave and humane commander. The prisoners taken by our troops are

sent to Lancaster jail. A number of sick and wounded brought into town, calls upon us to extend a hand of charity towards them. Several of *my* soldiers left the next house, and returned to the place whence they came. Upon my questioning them pretty close, I brought several to confess they had run away, being scared at the heavy firing on the 3rd. There were several pretty, innocent-looking lads among them, and I sympathized with their mothers, when I saw them preparing to return to the army.

Jan. 5. I heard to-day that Capt. Shippen, who threatened to shoot my son for spying at the gondolas, is killed. I forgave him, long ago, for the fright he occasioned me, and felt sorry when I heard he was dead. We are told to-day that Gen. Mercer³⁴ is killed, and Mifflin is wounded; what sad havoc will this dreadful war make in our land!

Jan. 6. We are told to-day that 2000 New England men fell in the late engagement.

Jan. 7. This evening all the gondolas which have been for several days past lying before Bristol sailed down the river except one, which is stationed there for the winter I suppose; an order arrived about five this evening for the remainder of the soldiers to march; they hurried away, but returned in less than an hour, the officers thinking it too late for them to reach Bordentown to-night.

Jan. 8. All the soldiers gone from the next house; only one of the number stopped to bid me farewell; but I did not resent it, remembering that only one of the ten lepers, cleansed by our Lord, returned to give thanks; not that I would compare the trifling services I was enabled to render these poor creatures to that great miracle; but it rose in my mind at the time, perhaps as a check to any little resentment that I might have felt for being neglected. I went into the house after they had left it, and was grieved to see such loads of provisions wastefully lying on the floor. I sent my son to desire an officer in town to order it away, and he returned his compliments, and desired me "to keep it from spoiling"—that was, to make use of it; but as it was not

³⁴ General Hugh Mercer; General Thomas Mifflin.

his to give, and I had no stomach to keep it from spoiling, I sent it to another person, who had it taken to the sick soldiers.

Jan. 9. We hear to-day that our troops have driven the English to Brunswick, and some say there has been another battle. All the officers went out of town to-day. The report of poor A. Morris being killed is confirmed by an officer who was in the battle. I feel sorry for every one that falls in battle. We hear that Washington has sent to buy up a number of stores, from which it is concluded he is going into winter quarters. The weather very cold; some snow falling has also filled the river with ice, and we expect it will be strong enough to walk over in a day or two, and give an opportunity, to those inclined to escape, of crossing over, which, for several weeks past, has been attended with some difficulty; all the boats belonging to the town being seized upon by the gentlemen of the galleys, and either borne away, or broken to pieces, which they said was done to prevent the Hessians from crossing the river; and, on the same pretence, a number of bridges have been taken up, and others so much damaged as to make it difficult for travellers to pass from hence to Philadelphia. Several of the soldiers, who were brought to town sick, have died, and it is feared the disorder by which they were afflicted is infectious.

Jan. 11. Weather very cold and the river quite shut. I pity the poor soldiers now on their march, many of whom will probably lay out in the fields this cold night. What cause have I for gratitude, that I and my household are sheltered from the storm! Oh, that the hearts of my offspring may learn to trust in the God of their *mother*. He who has condescended to preserve us in great danger, and kept our feet from wandering from the habitation his goodness has allotted to us.

(To be concluded.)

ACCOUNT OF A VISIT TO JOHN G. WHITTIER, 1860,
BY LYDIA MARIA CHILD.

Friend Whittier lives about four miles from the mill, across the river. The bridge was being repaired, which made it necessary to go a long way round. I was not sorry, for the scenery was lovely. We rode along the Merrimack nearly all the way. The sunshine was rippling it with gold, and the oars of various little boats and rafts were dropping silver as they went. I think nature never made such a vivid impression on me as it has this summer. I don't know whether it is because I have so very few human ties, or whether it is that I feel a sort of farewell tenderness for the earth, because I am growing old.

Friend Whittier's gentle Quakerly sister seemed delighted to see me, or, rather he seemed delighted and she seemed pleased. There was a Republican meeting that evening, at which he felt obliged to show himself; but he came back before long, having indiscreetly excused himself by stating that I was at his house. The result was, that a posse of Republicans came, after the meeting was over, to look at the woman "who fired hot shot at Governor Wise." In the interim, however, I had some cosy chat with Friend Whittier, and it was right pleasant going over our anti-slavery reminiscences. Oh, those were glorious times! working shoulder to shoulder, in such a glow of faith!—too eager working for humanity to care a fig whether our helpers were priests or infidels. That's the service that is pleasing in the sight of God.

Whittier made piteous complaints of time wasted and strength exhausted by the numerous loafers who came to see him out of idle curiosity, or to put up with him to save a penny. I was amused to hear his sister describe some of these irruptions in her slow, Quakerly fashion. "Thee has no idea," said she, "how much time Greenleaf spends in trying to lose these people in the streets. Sometimes he comes home and says, 'Well, sister, I had hard work to lose him, but I have lost him.'" "But I can never lose a *her*," said Whittier. "The women are more pertinacious than the men; don't thee find 'em so, Maria?" I told him I did.

"How does thee manage to get time to do anything?" said he. I told him I took care to live away from the railroad, and kept a bull-dog and a pitch-fork, and advised him to do the same. (*Letters of Lydia Maria Child*, Boston, 1883, pp. 141, 142.)

CORRECTION.

Our friend, Norman Penney, of the Friends' Reference Library, Devonshire House, London, has kindly sent several corrections to be made in the paper "A Seventeenth Century Request for a Meeting" which appeared in the last number of the BULLETIN (Vol. IX, no. 1, pages 14-16). They are as follows: The date should be $\frac{22}{2mo}$ 1700. Lines 1, 2, 3 of the Letter should read, ". . . It being a desire of severall Friends in these parts to have a first day Meeting In the Parish of South Mims (on y^e same day that Winsmerhill [Winchmore Hill] Meeting is) established amongst us," etc. (p. 16). The last two lines of the first paragraph in the Letter should read, "And assist us with your consents in y^e re-establishing us in our former Priviledge." The last line but one of the Letter should read, "And with the consent of severall others." The original manuscript is No. 59, Vol. III. Gibson Mss. Friends' Reference Library, Devonshire House, London.

BOOKS OF INTEREST TO FRIENDS.

Dr. John Fothergill and his Friends, Chapters in Eighteenth Century Life. By R. Hingston Fox, M.D. London, Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1919. 5½ × 9 in. Pp. xxiv, 434. Illustrations. 21s. net, \$7.50, postage 30 cents.

This long expected work has been well worth waiting for. Dr. Fox is to be congratulated on his success from every point of view. The book is scholarly, most carefully written from original and printed sources, no time or trouble has been spared in searching after authorities in both Great Britain and America, and care and diligence are apparent on every page, the literary style is good and the book is interesting. The subject and the author both being medical men, it must have been no easy matter to produce a work attractive both to the general reader and to the pro-

fessional man. So far as a non-medical man can judge, Dr. Fox has been remarkably successful, for while there are portions which will appeal only to the physician, they are few and purely technical language is unfrequent.

It was quite time that a life written on modern lines should be presented to the world, for except in the brief notices in encyclopedias and biographical dictionaries, no life of Fothergill has been published for more than a century. The greatest physician of his day in London, his fees amounting to about £5,000 per annum and sometimes more, consulted by persons of all ranks, the introducer of commonsense methods in practice and treatment of diseases, the real forerunner of modern treatment, he deserves more recognition than he has received in later years. Dr. Fothergill was not only a physician but a botanist who introduced many new plants and trees into Great Britain, he was one of England's chief philanthropists, an earnest forwarder of education, the founder of Ackworth School, a social reformer, a man interested in science of every kind, one of the first to bring electricity into prominence before scientific bodies, a firm believer in hygiene and careful diet, and in fact a promoter of almost everything that tends to increase the welfare and comfort of society. He counted Franklin, Priestley, Collinson, the Bartrams, the Logans, Pembertons and other well-known men among his intimate friends. He was the warm friend of America and exerted his great influence on her behalf whenever possible. He was really one of the founders and for a long time one of the greatest benefactors of the Pennsylvania Hospital. He was a staunch Friend, a member of the Meeting for Sufferings when but twenty-nine, and was Clerk of London Yearly Meeting three times.

All these phases of this remarkable man are well brought out in the biography before us. Dr. Fox has we believe chosen wisely in presenting not a chronological life but a picture of Fothergill as revealed under different aspects.

The book appears to be remarkably free from slips and errors; the statement, however, that John Dickinson was a "birthright Friend" (page 340) is not borne out by evidence. Isaac Sharpless in his sketch of John Dickinson ("Political Leaders of Provincial Pennsylvania," page 224) says there is no evidence in the records, or even elsewhere that he ever was a member.

It is a matter of regret that owing to the great cost of publication in these days the price of the volume can hardly help restricting the sale.

Origin of the Doctrine of the Trinity, A Popular Exposition. By Rendel Harris. Manchester, at the University Press, Longmans, Green & Co., London, etc., 1919. 6×9 in. Pp. 41. \$1.00.

The title of this characteristic monograph does not convey to the ordinary mind quite the meaning intended. It is not a theological treatise, but a presentation of the arguments for the existence of a lost book of the

early Christian Church and what that set forth. This, our author tells us, was a book of *Testimonies*, being quotations from the Old Testament which show the "existence of a lost Christian doctrine of the first century, according to which Jesus was defined as the "Wisdom of God." All New Testament scholars have long been aware that there is a period of time between the earliest years of Christianity and the date of the oldest book of the New Testament (1 Thess. about A.D. 50). "When . . . we reflect," says the author, "that the period which elapses between the death of Christ and the first known Christian document covers a whole human generation, it must be clear to any thoughtful person that such a generation could not have passed away without written records of the history which they were relating, and the truths that they were emphasizing."¹ As there was then no New Testament, argument was based on the Old Testament when addressed to Jews, and it was addressed to them first in the earlier years as we know. The passages relied upon were those relating to *Wisdom*, particularly the splendid one in the eighth chapter of Proverbs. The identification of Christ with Wisdom is the basis of His being one with the Father, not, as might be supposed, the Messianic prophecies. This view is indicated in the New Testament in several places, as where Paul speaks of "Christ the power of God and the Wisdom of God," also in Colossians (chaps. 1 and 2). One of these treatises Dr. Harris believes he has discovered, or a form of it, in the library on Mount Athos, an edition of which is now in preparation. It will be read with interest when it appears. Dr. Harris, with his keen sense of possibilities, suggests that here may be found the origin of the name of one of the finest churches in the world, the Mosque of St. Sophia at Constantinople. Why such a magnificent building should have been dedicated to a rather obscure saint or to "Holy Wisdom," has always been rather a puzzle. It is known that the present structure was erected on the site of an earlier one bearing the same name, and when it is found that at that time "Holy Wisdom" was an alternative term for Christ Himself the puzzle is solved.

The Tryal of William Penn & William Mead for Causing a Tumult. . . . 1670. . . . First published in 1719 and edited by Don C. Seitz. Boston, Marshall Jones Co., MDCCCXIX. 5½ × 8 in. Pp. xvii, 37. \$1.00.

This small volume is a reprint of the famous trial of William Penn and William Mead, 1670, in which the independence of juries was established in England. The editor also gives an extract from the almost equally famous

¹ Two reasons for the loss of such treatises are: (1) the books were written on papyrus, a very fragile material and quickly perishable except in a climate like that of Egypt, and (2) when the books of the New Testament appeared the earlier books, based on the Old Testament, were discarded, and besides were not convincing to Gentiles.

trial in America, New York, 1735, of John Peter Zenger, in which the freedom of the press was established. The part quoted is from the address of Andrew Hamilton in which he cites the trial of Penn and Mead. The account of the "Tryal" itself is not only interesting but amusing. Though the accounts in the various Lives of Penn give all that is essential, the whole report in the quaint language of the original is well worth attention. The editing consists, with the exception of the quotation from the Zenger trial, of a "foreword" which is a very brief account of William Penn and of his father, the admiral. The editor is at present the managing editor of the *New York World*. The volume is handsomely printed and made up.

The Style and Literary Method of Luke and Acts. By Henry J. Cadbury. Harvard Theological Studies, VI. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1919. $6\frac{1}{4} \times 9\frac{1}{4}$ in. Pp. viii, 72.

This is a highly creditable technical study of the Gospel of Luke and the book of Acts. It relates only to questions of style and method, and is intended for students of Textual Criticism. To the ordinary reader a large part would be Greek indeed. A section more generally interesting than some of the others is that devoted to the "Alleged Medical Language of Luke." Of the thirty pages allotted to this subject part of the conclusion may be quoted: "The style of Luke bears no more evidence of medical training than does the language of other writers who were not physicians. This result, it must be confessed, is a purely negative one. . . . Of course the absence of medical traits does not prove that a doctor did not write Luke and Acts. In other words, the only reason we have for supposing that the author was a physician is the old one—the statement in Coloss. 4, 14, 'Luke, the beloved physician.'"

London Yearly Meeting During 250 Years. London, Society of Friends, Devonshire House, 136 Bishopgate, E.C., 2, 1919. $5\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{3}{4}$ in. Pp. 157. 5s. 6d., \$2.50.

This attractive anniversary volume is a coöperative work. Robert H. Marsh contributes the "Introductory Address"; William C. Braithwaite, "First Period, 1668 to 1725"; A. Neave Brayshaw, "Second Period, 1725 to 1825"; Edward Grubb, "Third Period, 1825 to 1918"; Mary Jane Godlee, "The Women's Yearly Meeting"; and our indefatigable expert in editing, Norman Penney, the "Addenda," by no means the least valuable part. A full index and four illustrations complete this interesting volume. While the greater part of the book naturally is devoted to its special subject, a large amount of other information is given incidentally. A number of common misconceptions are corrected, and it comes out very clearly that Friends of past generations did not differ essentially in characteristics and actions from those of the present day. The sections on the First and

Second Periods exhibit the well-balanced historic sense we have learned to expect in their authors, but which seems to be somewhat wanting in the account of the Third Period.

The history of the Women's Yearly Meeting contains perhaps more absolutely new matter than the other accounts, and is exceedingly well done. It was not till 1896 that women Friends were "recognized as forming a constituent part of our Meetings for Church affairs equally with their brethren and that they should be eligible for appointment as members of the Meeting for Sufferings."¹ "In 1907 the Women's Yearly Meeting, as a separate body, came to an end."

The only error observed is in the Note, page 117: Sarah F. Smiley did not marry "a Baptist minister." She joined the Episcopalians and never married.

The work is a distinct contribution to Quaker history and may be marked with a double star.

Friends' Quarterly Examiner, Seventh Month, 1919. As usual this periodical contains several articles of much interest. Possibly those on "An Early Chapter in the Life of John Dalton," and the graphic "Return of the Exiles," some incidents on a trip with returning Serbian exiles from Bizerta (Tunis) to Belgrade via sea to Ragusa and train to Belgrade, with the editorial "From the House of the Four Winds," are the most attractive. One of the most significant paragraphs in the latter relates to the effects in Great Britain of the liquor restrictions during the war; only those relating to the direct results of alcohol can be quoted:

	1913	1918
Convictions for drunkenness	188,877	29,019
Cases of delirium tremens in representative areas ..	786	32
Deaths from alcoholism	1,831	296

These figures show a decline of about 80 per cent.!

Religion as Reality, Life and Power. By Rufus M. Jones. The William Penn Lecture, Philadelphia, Central Bureau Office, 154 N. 15th St., 1919. 5 × 7½ in. Pp. 45. Paper 35 cents, cloth 50 cents.

This is a suggestive, eloquent, elevating address. Here are some sentences from it: "Religion is something that carries one into 'the land of heart's desire!'" "It is something which gives us a view of what ought to be." "Religion is one of the mightiest of all the constructive unifying forces we know. As the word implies, religion binds back the soul into unison with realities which refresh it, restore it, vivify it, and integrate it and complete it; i.e., put it in possession of the whole of itself." "There can be no adequate world here for us without at least a faith in the reality of beyond the line of what we see with our common eyes."

¹ It might be remarked that Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Orthodox) was much later (1915) in taking a similar step.

Silent Worship: The Way of Wonder. The Swarthmore Lecture, 1919, By L. Violet Hodgkin, author of "A Book of Quaker Saints." London, Headley Bros., 1919. $5 \times 7\frac{1}{4}$ in. Pp. 95. 1s 6d, \$0.65.

This, the twelfth Swarthmore Lecture, stands worthily beside its predecessors. The author is the daughter of Thomas Hodgkin, the historian, who gave the lecture in 1911, and the cousin of Henry T. Hodgkin who gave the lecture in 1916. Those who enjoyed the delightful "Book of Quaker Saints" will find the same charming style in this little book. To those who know what a "living silence" is, we commend this treatise; to those who have not that knowledge, we alike commend it, that they may, perchance, gain a vision of new possibilities in worship.

As A Man Thinketh, The Personal Problem of Militarism. By Ernest Ewart Unwin, with Foreword by J. Lewis Paton. London, George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1919. $5 \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. 120. 2s 6d.

This little book by a master in Leighton Park School, Reading, England, is a strong presentment of the subject of militarism and what militarism involves. "The choice is between a material and a spiritual conception of life." "I approach the whole question as a biologist, as a schoolmaster, and as a Quaker." "Every one of us, every man and every woman, every boy and every girl has to face these things as an individual problem, for it is, in reality, a difference in our conception of God and of His ways for men which drives us forth along the pathway of peace or along the pathway of war." These sentences from the Preface will give a good idea of the basis of the book. It is written in no sectarian spirit, and the author has strengthened his position by referring, with but two or three exceptions, to non-Quaker works.

The Religion of Experience. An Examination of some of the Difficulties of the Christian Faith. By Edward Grubb, M.A. London, Headley Bros., 1919. $4\frac{3}{4} \times 7$ in. Pp. 198.

This volume, by an author well known among Friends, is largely a reproduction either in form or substance of lectures and papers given or published at various times. Naturally there is some lack of continuity, and some repetition, but not enough to be prominent. The author takes up chiefly the intellectual difficulties and handles them well. As the title of the book indicates, his argument rests on the fact of personal, inward experience: "if we are to understand and appreciate these doctrines or even criticize them to any purpose, we must ourselves come into the place of experience." "What is this experience. . . ? It includes everything in human consciousness which has to do with an awareness of relations with that Unseen Presence which is called God." Parts of the book re-

quire close thought and all of it careful attention. Some readers may think the author's views are occasionally too "modern," others that scarcely enough weight is given to the historical side; but in matters about which there is so great variety of opinion *any* presentment will be questioned by some. An Index would have been an advantage to the book.

Joseph Sturge, His Life and Work. By Stephen Hobhouse. London, J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., 1919. $4\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. x, 196. 4s 6d.

This brief biography of Joseph Sturge by Stephen Hobhouse should be welcomed. The valuable, though bulky *Life* by Henry Richard has long been out of print, and to the present generation Joseph Sturge is little more than a name. As the writer of this notice a few years since stood before Sturge's statue in one of the busiest parts of Birmingham, he wondered how many of the hundreds that passed by while he looked on the fine memorial, knew why their former citizen had been thus honored.

Our friend Stephen Hobhouse, so well known to us through his severe experiences as a Conscientious Objector in Great Britain, is Sturge's fit biographer. A reformer himself, he has great sympathy with his subject and presents him in a lively and attractive manner. The work, while highly appreciative, is by no means a panegyric, for the shortcomings of his hero are carefully pointed out. The well-drawn portrait is that of a whole-souled, indefatigable man, "perpetually engaged in practical activity" for the benefit of others. He was zealous in the Anti-Slavery cause; in political reform; in Temperance; in Education; in Free Trade; and was a "Quaker Chartist." He was a pioneer in the Peace movement, and while not the founder of the Adult School movement, he was a personal, earnest promotor of it, and was, perhaps as much as anyone, the man who made Birmingham the great center of that work. He was one of the earliest advocates of children's play-grounds, and to illustrate and enforce his opinions he himself leased a field near his own residence which he opened as a place of recreation for children (1853); he, in conjunction with a brother, started and supported a reformatory school for boys which is still in existence. Such were some of the activities of this remarkable man, whom Stephen Hobhouse is to be congratulated for recalling to our view.

Political Leaders of Provincial Pennsylvania. By Isaac Sharpless. New York, The Macmillan Co., 1919. $5\frac{1}{2} \times 8$ in. Pp. ix, 248. \$2.50.

These papers on eight prominent leaders of colonial Pennsylvania, William Penn, Thomas Lloyd, David Lloyd, James Logan, John Kinsey, Isaac Norris, James Pemberton, and John Dickinson, are written in the author's well known manner and give much information, not only of the men themselves, but of the politics of their day. All were Friends except John Dickinson, and he has often been claimed as one. Two of the essays

appeared first in the BULLETIN—those on David Lloyd and John Kinsey. The Introduction, which discusses the attitude of Friends towards Public Affairs and Moral Reforms, is especially valuable. This essay and the biographies themselves show that in the membership of those days there were two classes—those who were Friends through and through, like James Pemberton; and those prominent in the State but not in the Friends' Meetings, and in fact little more than nominal Friends, like David Lloyd.

For freshness and as a good example of impartial treatment, the essay on John Dickinson would perhaps come first. It is sufficient to say that no student of early Pennsylvania history can afford to miss this book. No one but a Friend could possibly have given such an understanding and truthful picture.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

The Saturday Westminster Gazette (London) of August 9, 1919, has a very commendatory notice of Professor Augustus T. Murray's translation of Homer's *Odyssey* recently published in the Loeb Classical Library. "They [the readers] must ascribe to Professor Murray not only great bravery, but a degree of scholarship in both Greek and English, and a fine sense of values, that will make them anxious to see the conclusion of this translation."

The Annual Excursion of the Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia this year (1919) was to Byberry Meeting House and its neighborhood. It took place 6 month 7, and was well attended. A full account of the excursion by Watson W. Dewees appeared in *The Friend* (Philadelphia) for 7 month 31, and 8 month 7. In this account will be found an in-

teresting notice of John Comly, who was the author of the old Spelling Book, so well known to those of the older generation, and who was also prominent in the Separation of 1828.

ANECDOTE OF JOSEPH STURGE.—"He [Lord Brougham], told me [Cobden] of Sturge coming to him to arraign the conduct of the masters in the West Indies for oppressing their apprentices:¹ how he Brougham laughed at him, deriding him in this fashion for proposing to abolish apprenticeship: 'Why, Joseph Sturge, how can you be such an old woman as to dream that you can revive the Anti-Slavery agitation to put an end to the apprenticeship?'—how the quiet Quaker met him with this reply: 'Lord Brougham, if when Lord Chancellor thou hadst a ward in chancery who was apprenticed, and his master was

¹ These were former negro slaves.

violating the terms of indenture, what wouldst thou do?'—how he felt this home thrust, and replied, 'Why, I should require good proof of the fact, Joseph Sturge, before I did anything': how our friend rejoined, 'Then I must supply thee with the proof': how he packed his portmanteau and quietly embarked for the West Indies, made a tour of the islands, collected the necessary evidence of the oppression that was practiced on the negro apprentices by their masters, the planters: how he returned to England, and commenced an agitation throughout the country . . . and attained his object." (See S. Hobhouse, "Joseph Sturge," p. 44; J. A. Hobson, "Richard Cobden," p. 316.)

[In this visit Joseph Sturge was accompanied by Thomas Harvey. The account, "The West Indies in 1837," was published, went through several editions and had great influence in bringing about the desired legislation. The book doubtless will be found in our libraries. Editor.]

SOUTH AFRICAN FRIENDS.—The "Report of the Proceedings of the Second General Meeting of the Society of Friends in South Africa held in Johannesburg, 17-21 April, 1919," is an interesting pamphlet. From it we learn that the organization consists of a "General Meeting Executive" of ten members (this one of nine men and one woman), and two Monthly Meetings, "Cape," held at Capetown, and "Transvaal"

held at Johannesburg. The subjects which seemed to claim most consideration in the meeting were "social reconstruction," and "the position of the Native races of South Africa in our social system." About forty attended the Meeting. The Friends of South Africa evidently have some extremely difficult problems before them.

EARLY HISTORY OF OHIO YEARLY MEETING.—Our friend Watson W. Dewees has reprinted his papers on the "Early History of Ohio Yearly Meeting," which appeared recently in *The Friend* (Philadelphia), and, with some additions and corrections, has issued them in pamphlet form. In addition to the history of the Yearly Meeting proper, there is an account of the old Mount Pleasant School, from its beginning in 1837 to its close in 1875. The book of 51 pages may be had from Friends' Book Store, 302 Arch St., Philadelphia.

"HISTORICAL PORTRAITS."—In what is known as the series of "Historical Portraits," edited by C. R. L. Fletcher and published by the Clarendon Press, Oxford, two Friends appear in volumes 3 and 4 (1919), William Penn and Elizabeth Fry. The portrait of Penn is taken from the ivory medallion bust by Sylvanus Bevan, probably as accurate as any but not very satisfactory. The notice of Penn by Fletcher, a great militarist, naturally shows little sympathy or comprehension of Penn's

religious side. There are two or three positive errors in the account and the general effect, while grudgingly commendatory, is misleading to those who do not know the facts.

The portrait of Elizabeth Fry is from that in the National Gallery which is not as attractive as that by Richmond. The very brief notice is appreciative, but the inference contained in it, "It seems probable that her married life was not of the happiest," is gratuitous.

"ELIZABETH FRY—QUAKER REFORMER."—"Elizabeth Fry—Quaker Reformer," by Henry M. Thomas, 8vo, 25 pages. This monograph, first read before the Johns Hopkins Historical Society, and then printed in *Johns Hopkins Hospital Bulletin* for March, 1919, is a careful study of Elizabeth Fry from a new point of view—that of a skilled specialist, the Professor of Neurology in the Johns Hopkins Medical School. It is one of those side studies which not a few of the medical profession have indulged in: witness, Dr. John Fothergill, and in our own day, Dr. William Osler and Dr. Richard C. Cabot. This paper is warmly sympathetic and throws much light on its distin-

guished subject. Until her reforming activities are thus brought together, one could hardly realize how wide were her interests or how valuable were her services. There is an excellent reproduction of Richmond's portrait. It is to be regretted that this study will have a limited circulation.

"Well, I have seen the Princess Daschkaw, and she is well worth seeing. . . . Her behavior is extraordinarily frank and easy. . . . As an instance of her quickness and parts, I must tell you that she went to a Quaker meeting. As she came away, one of the women came up to her and told her she saw she was a foreigner, that she wished her all prosperity, and should be very glad if anything she had seen amongst them that day should contribute to her salvation. The Princess thanked her very civilly and said, '*Madame, je ne sçais si la voie de silence n'est point la meilleure façon d'adorer l'Être Suprême.*'" (I do not know whether the way of silence is not the better method of worshipping the Supreme Being.)¹ It is clear that Horace Walpole understood this as a *double entente*. Whether it was so, it is impossible to determine.

¹ *Letters of Horace Walpole* (Toynbee edition), Letter 1326, Nov. 12, 1770.

COMMUNICATION.

[The following communication, though not strictly in accord with the practice of the BULLETIN, is printed from a desire to be fair.

Horace Lippincott misses the whole point of the papers referred to, which was to state that Generals Greene, Mifflin, and Brown were not members of the Society, when in the army. When a man is called a Presbyterian, or a Methodist, he is supposed to belong to one of those bodies; so, when a man is called a Quaker he is understood to belong to the Quaker organization, and no individual interpretation can alter that general understanding. These men were not legally or technically Quakers after their disownment. They professed views and acted contrary to the recognized doctrines of the Quakers and because of this were deprived of membership. Whatever may be thought of the matter, or whatever their individual views on other doctrines may have been, this is the fact, and the Society cannot be held responsible for what they said or did. An organization must have rules and must itself be the judge of their infraction. No organization could exist on any other basis. According to Horace Lippincott anyone has the right to call himself a Quaker, or Presbyterian, or Methodist, or be called so by an admirer, and he thereby become or remain one, despite the judgment of the body he may claim as his, or with which he may have been once connected.

The matter of Thomas Mifflin's disownment is discussed and the "Testimony of Disownment" itself is given in Isaac Sharpless's "Quaker Government in Pennsylvania," Vol. II, p. 135.

The first requisite of a true critic is, to have a reasonable knowledge of the subject criticized, and secondly, to be accurate. Horace Lippincott evidently made no researches regarding the disownment of Thomas Mifflin, and he ignores the testimony of George W. Greene, the grandson of General Greene, regarding his grandfather's disownment. He states two thirds of the Quakers revolted in 1827, when those who have made a careful study say, "a decided minority of the whole body": for instance, Edward Grubb of England ("Separations," p. 42). He apparently is totally unaware of the fact that the question of the right of the individual and of the corporate conscience was faced by George Fox and the Early Friends and decided (Wilkinson and Story Controversy), and that this decision, whether rightly or wrongly, was followed by the Society, and, in essentials, is still in force.

The concluding paragraphs of the communication indicate that Horace Lippincott has not been a reader for the past few years of either English or American Quaker periodicals or such statements would be impossible. In short, his conclusions are drawn from insufficient data and reveal a lamentable lack of knowledge both of past and present Quaker History.

The papers which he speaks of as "unsigned," were unsigned simply from the natural wish, common to all editors, of keeping the editor's name in the background.—Editor.]

My attention has just been called to the unsigned statement in the BULLETIN of the Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia (Volume VIII, No. 3, p. 108; Volume IX, No. 1, p. 32) concerning Generals Nathaniel Greene, Thomas Mifflin and Jacob Brown. This periodical is edited by Allen C. Thomas of Haverford, Pennsylvania, whom it is, I assume, that challenges my assertion that these patriots were Quakers. He admits that these distinguished citizens were members of the Society of Friends, but

were disowned. He presents no evidence of disownment concerning Thomas Mifflin. As to Nathaniel Greene the Minute of the Monthly Meeting held at Cranston, R. I., 3rd of 9th Month, 1773, is quoted placing Nathaniel and his brother from "under the care of the meeting until they make satisfaction for their misconduct." The "misconduct" is "having been at a place in Connecticut of public resort where they had no proper business."

In the case of Jacob Brown, the most successful Commander in the War of 1812 and later the head of the American Army, New York Monthly Meeting disowned him 4th month 4th, 1804, for marrying out of meeting and acting as commissioner to distribute the funds of a lottery.

In my "Portraiture of the People Called Quakers" my object was to present a few of the products of Quakerism who had proved distinguished and useful. The technical point of view of the Recorder of the Meeting did not occur to me in this connection nor have I any more sympathy now than my ancestors had in 1827 with the rigid insistence upon the letter of many man-made rules introduced into the Society by small but insistent groups who maintained a zeal for some particular fad. The fundamental principle upon which George Fox founded the Society of Friends was the direct revelation of God to man without the need of any intermediary. The *freedom of the individual conscience* which is the obvious result of this conviction may result in the direct command of our Heavenly Father to act as His hands in the opposition to tyranny and the defense of the weak against cruelty. Therefore unless A. C. Thomas can produce proof that Generals Greene, Mifflin and Brown made any different assertion of belief or joined any other church I still claim that they were Quakers. Considerable familiarity with the history of Friends has convinced me that the small select groups that generally did the disowning were more often less worthy or widely useful than their victims. It was this sort of tyranny and rigidity that caused two thirds of the Quakers to revolt in 1827. All "Hicksites" were accordingly disowned by this minority, but I know of none that would admit that they are not Quakers.

It is a pity to twist technicalities into a rigid exclusion of distinguished and useful Quakers thus giving the public the false impression that we are a cold, ascetic, exclusive sect unable to adequately meet different emergencies by inspired reason. It is more encouraging and inspiring to emphasize the distinguished and useful products of our simple faith and to give them our heartiest support in their helpful work. Thus we may point with pardonable pride to-day to those modern Quakers, Mitchell Palmer, Attorney General of the United States, William C. Sproul, Governor of Pennsylvania, and Herbert C. Hoover, Feeder of the world.

If all the Quakers who did in 1917-18 what Generals Greene, Mifflin and Brown did in their times were disowned the Society of Friends would cease to exist.

HORACE MATHER LIPPINCOTT.

